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28 June 1982

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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LABOR DATA PRESENTED, DEFICIENCIES NOTED

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 14 May 82 p 2

[Text] Luanda--The balance of the Socialist Emulation for the first quarter of this year showed a drastic drop in production of about 4.3 percent compared with the same period of 1981, caused by a shortage in technical material supply.

Short supply in the technical material sector is due to sluggishness in imports, and this has prevented companies from carry out their plans as scheduled.

Despite this situation, the National Directorate of Socialist Emulation is of the opinion that those companies, even if badly pinched by a shortage of raw material, should remain mobilized for Socialist Emulation.

In fact, during the first quarter of this year, of the 544 companies which signed emulative pledges, only 308 remained organized for emulation. Of the remainder, some 173 did not come up with the pertinent data and 73 furnished incomplete figures which did not make it possible to classify them.

The worsening of the situation is also due to a high rate of absenteeism reported by the companies, which rose 0.11 percent compared with the first quarter of 1981. According to the report on this period of emulation, the trend toward increased absenteeism clearly shows the short supply of consumer goods to the workers and refectories.

The level of absenteeism was about 4.6 percent, which represents a total of 282,100 unjustified absences just during the first quarter.

Regardless of the above-mentioned results, 97 companies reached the end of the first quarter with positive results and are, therefore, considered exemplary firms. Of these firms, 47 are in the sectors of the hotel industry, health and public administration.

In the food sector, only 5 were given special mention among the 73 participants. In the agricultural and cattle raising sector, again only 5 were considered outstanding among 68 participants. Of the 73 construction firms, only 4 were outstanding, and the same number occurred in the light industry sector which had 38 competitors.

In heavy industry 11 out of 52 firms were considered exemplary and the same number showed up in transportation in which 43 firms participated. In the fishing sector, there were 7 outstanding firms out of 27 participants; and, lastly, in the coffee sector, 3 out of 10 companies inscribed in the plan fulfilled their goals and were considered exemplary.

During this period, 7,099 workers were awarded the title, "outstanding worker," and, among these, 297 received the title, "most outstanding."

In an effort to minimize the situation, the deputy provincial secretaries of UNTA [National Union of Angolan Workers] and the second secretaries of the national unions, meeting in Cabinda Province in April, decided to launch a campaign to economize material, to be initiated in firms considered of a priority nature.

This campaign will undergo an experimental phase to make it possible to analyze its advantages so that it may be gradually extended to general use.

The Cabinda meeting also brought to light the need and obligation for strict control of the statistical data used to analyze the Socialist Emulation organization in companies. Moreover, it decided to initiate the maximum use of skilled personnel who are a part of the Socialist Worker Brigades.

Lastly, it verified the need to organize permanent production assemblies in the priority firms based on the past year's experience and in accordance with norms already approved.

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SIMPLE CAFES SEEN NEEDED FOR QUALITY OF LIFE

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 14 May 82 p 2

[Letter from a reader, signed "Luandense"]

[Text] "It appears to me that insisting on nightclubs, as in your 'Registo' column yesterday, is somewhat exaggerated. I have nothing against nightclubs; I have seen many throughout the world and I like them. But at present, in Angola, I do not consider them of a 'priority' nature. There are people who like them, people who are accustomed to them and people who lose nothing by not being accustomed to them. The effect of nightclub life can even be disastrous, as the columnist implies in speaking of 'feminine company recruited even at the door.'

"Youth needs to be amused, needs to dance and listen to music, needs to chat and fool around; but nightclubs are not the only answer. After reading your article yesterday, I made a little survey and discovered many supporters of nightclubs. Yes, a great many. But...most of them do not take their wife; nor do they want their daughter to frequent nightclubs! Old-fashioned? Elastic boots? Or just acquainted with the environment?

"It is true that nightclubs are lacking for cooperants, diplomats and foreign visitors; they are places for social contact. But most of them also agreed that there is another place for social contact in Luanda which is in greater need than nightclubs. Cafes.

"With domestic coffee, Angolan coffee, breakfast, after lunch, after one's studies, work, dinner. Where one can meet colleagues, go with the family, with friends, with one's girl friend, or alone, to enjoy the sunset at a table set up on the broad sidewalk. Where foreigners and nationals, JORNAL DE ANGOLA editors, I, we, they, can rest a moment and chat a little without soliciting company or spending a fortune.

"In the beginning, they could serve only coffee, children's drinks, strong coffee weakened with hot water, perhaps a glass of milk or iced coffee with a bit of lemon. Later, little by little, they could add tea, orangeade, cake and pie. But, in the beginning, only coffee and milk for children. Large cafes could have a television set; this would enliven family night life and Luanda would cease to be such a dead city after dark.

"I admit that sugar would be a problem, teacups another (could Vidrul not make little cups or teacups of glass?) and teaspoons a third. But we have to begin somewhere. Who has not gone through Luanda's streets attending to his affairs and not felt the lack of a strong cup of coffee or a glass of ice water? Who, after dining, has not thought that it would be good to take a walk and sit down in a cafe to enjoy the coolness of the evening? Who has not left an institute or university seeking a place where he could discuss the study material with a group of colleagues? The foreigner who leaves a museum would like to sit down and rest his legs, enjoy Angolan coffee, doing so 'with a taste of freedom,' and write some postcards to the family.

"These are little pleasures we should be capable of offering. Would that be impossible? Would that be difficult? Will that go beyond our capabilities? I do not believe so. It is only a question of beginning, at first very slowly, then going ahead."

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NEED FOR 1983 CENSUS EXPLAINED

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 15 May 82 p 1

[Article by D. Eduardo]

[Text] "To plan our economic development correctly, we must know how many we are, that is, what Angola's present population is and how it is distributed throughout the national territory and by ages. Only a general population census can give us this necessary information. That is one more task in which we should all take part so that, in 1983, it can be successfully completed." This statement was made by Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the party and of the republic, in his New Year's message addressed to the nation in 1981.

Thus, the general population census is an important task which should immediately mobilize the efforts of party organizations, the party youth, state organizations and people's and social organizations. The success of this undertaking will contribute greatly to a strengthening of the planning role in our economic and social development and, consequently, in an improvement in the people's living conditions.

In fact, the census will make it possible to arrive at a scientific estimate of the objectives toward which our national production should be oriented, the number of skilled personnel it will be necessary to train, the number of schools which must be built, as well as the number of factories, dwellings, social centers, and stores to supply to people satisfactorily. Many more requirements which are now being felt at all levels will, through the general census, have a good starting point for their respective solutions.

Moreover, it is known that for the revolutionary process to go forward, for socialism to become a reality, it is necessary to know the total population, its social makeup and its distribution throughout the country's various areas.

Efforts are already being made to complete the general population census by the end of the third quarter of 1983. In this regard, a pilot census has already been taken in Malanje Province in three urban, suburban and rural areas in August and September of last year. The second pilot census will be taken in Luanda Province during the third quarter of this year.

We should like to point out that these pilot experiments are aimed foremost at testing the documents and methodology programmed for the final elaboration of the data. Meanwhile, it is necessary for the people covered by the pilot censuses to give complete cooperation so that the experiments in question will be of great value to the general population census, an important objective in the organization of the country's economic and social life.

The resident committees, basic organizations of the Popular Power, the JMPLA [Youth Movement for the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Party Youth and mass organizations should play a dynamic role in making the people fully cognizant to obtain their complete cooperation in the pilot experiments.

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DRASTIC REDUCTION IN PRODUCTION GOALS ANNOUNCED

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 14 May 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by Mario Campos]

[Text] The Ministry of Industry's Advisory Council, whose work session terminated last Wednesday in Luanda, decided to propose a change in the annual production plan for all products covered by that plan.

This decision was made in light of the results of the economic recession the country is experiencing, and its purpose is to reduce the plan's production goals as initially approved. In this connection, the following reductions were announced: 72 percent in the manufacture of refrigerants, 65 percent in corn meal production, 50 percent in wheat flour, 87 percent in food pastes, 52 percent in bread, 69 percent in blankets, 82 percent in ready-made clothing and 75 percent in shoes. There will also be reductions in the production of plastics, 59 percent; tires, 76 percent; batteries, 73 percent; zinc plate, 64 percent; and television sets, 74 percent.

A communique from the Ministry of Industry states that, to accomplish these objectives, it will be necessary for all entities involved in the supply process, whether of the Ministry of Industry or other state organizations, to devote greater effort, dynamism and capability to carry out the respective operations.

In analyzing the reflections of the present international economic situation on the national economy, with special emphasis on the increase in the cost of imports and the reduction in income from exports, the Advisory Council stressed the need to create conditions capable of gradually coping with the crisis.

It rejected the simplistic trend which leads to economic recession, characterized by work stoppages and the closing of industrial facilities, and replaced these measures by the capability to reconvert, define priorities and continue the policy of economic development defined by the party.

In this regard, the council came up with a few long-range solutions, such as improving the organizational levels of companies, economizing raw materials, producing substitutions for imports and directing part of the production to exports.

At the meeting attention was called to the gradual deterioration of operating conditions in the industrial sector due, principally, to increasing difficulties in the procurement of raw materials. Apart from the need to revamp certain sectors, it was decided that material and human resources should be urgently mobilized to stimulate investments of recognized feasibility and rapid turnover, citing the example of better utilization of our natural resources, particularly in the mining sector.

With regard to investments already underway and planned for this sector, as well as contracts for technical assistance, it was decided that the implementation of those investments and contracts should be carried over to the plan proposed for next year, since it was apparent that there was a lack of material and human conditions conducive to their viability at this time. With further reference to the contracts for technical assistance, it was deemed advisable to establish immediate conditions to make their cost less burdensome in certain sectors and their administration less complicated.

Moreover, the council stressed the need to continue a systematic study of the activity of companies, based on the balance of foreign exchange, to assure the economic feasibility of procurement from an exchange viewpoint and to consider the increasing value of domestic production as one of the principal criteria in evaluating investments.

Lastly, the council discussed the sector's difficulties in preparing for the next Advisory Council meeting to be held during the last week of August in collaboration with UNTA [National Union of Angolan Workers] at which the workers are to participate in the discussion of the proposed plan for 1983.

At the beginning of the work session, the minister of industry stressed the need to overcome the present economic crisis by implementing the guidelines of the extraordinary congress of the MPLA-Labor Party, not through the adoption of increasingly drastic restrictive measures but through economic growth which will bring about increased production for domestic consumption and export.

The meeting, chaired by Industry Minister Bento Ribeiro, was attended by the deputy minister of industry, the director of the planning office, national directors and provincial representatives.

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REPORTAGE ON SOCIAL, MILITARY, ECONOMIC SITUATION

Paris REVOLUTION in French 5 Mar 82 pp 14-17

[Article by Andre Breccourt: "War...and the Rest"]

[Text] Twenty years after the foundation of the MPLA, 6 years after independence, Angola remains in difficulty. The vestiges of colonialism, the consequences of the constant assault by South Africa and its allies explain the bulk of its difficulties. But not all of them. Andre Breccourt, who has just spent a month there, reveals his impressions, with exclusive rights to REVOLUTION.

The lights of our "command car" pierced the night. We had left Lubando, the capital of Hila Province, around 3 o'clock in the morning. In the back, crowded one against another, wrapped up in their long greatcoats, a Kalachnikov gun laying between their legs, our escorts, the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola], looked like ghosts. Numbed by the cold, everyone was dozing. Beyond the "bush" the horizon was beginning to brighten, and the captain said: "In half an hour we shall be in Cahama."

By now, day had dawned and our driver sped up a little. He just missed a zebu that had been blown up by a mine a few days before. Another climb, and we were there. Our eyes wandered over what, prior to the South African aggression of 23 August 1981, had been a hamlet built with permanent structures, as one sees so frequently in southern Angola. Today Cahama is crossed off the map.

It is nothing more than a pile of ruins: roofs torn off, pieces of sheet metal flapping in the wind, walls knocked down with whole sides caved in, windows torn out, electric power poles broken. Behind a hillock we came upon a scrapyard of military trucks, caved in halftracks, and sidecars piled up one on top of the other. The radar center was razed. The mercenaries had not spared even the hospital and the school. In the middle of the ruins the portraits of the founders of Marxism, topped by their slogans, remained intact and stared out at a world without life.

And yet that world is little by little starting up again. The Angolan Army still holds this advance post, located more than 200 kilometers from

Lubango--that is to say, halfway from the Cunene River, the river frontier between Angola and Namibia.

Below, curls of smoke rise above the gray and green "bush," which extends as far as the horizon. Some cows wander here and there. We run across several women going for water. The water tank, probably dynamited, lies half overturned. Farther south, the capital of Cunene Province, N'Giva, is practically cleared of its inhabitants. Only the International Red Cross Committee there has an aerial, connected by radio with the regional coordinator, installed in Lubango. One of them said to us: "Insecurity is such that we cannot get about without armored 'Land Cruisers.'" In this way we hope to limit the damage if we are blown up by antipersonnel mines which the South Africans bury in a very sophisticated manner on the principal roads and trails. With the other mines, obviously, the problem is quite different," our speaker added ironically, swallowing the contents of his can of beer.

Capt Armando de Sousa talked with us for a whole night about this "new kind" of war in which aircraft play a paramount role. He said: "We are able to contain the South Africans in land engagements, but we are powerless in the face of their aerial supremacy. The objective of Operation "Proteus" was to destroy our aerial defense system. All our radar installations and missile sites were destroyed along with a 150-kilometer strip north of the Namibian frontier."

To take Pretoria at its word, this was nothing more than a "pursuit operation" against the SWAPO terrorists (South-West African People's Organization--the former name of Namibia). "To speak of invasion is to crudely deform and improperly explain the reality of the situation." Forging ahead, Mr Botha, the South African prime minister, strongly encouraged the Angolan Government "not to get mixed up in operations directed not against it but against the terrorists." This language is found in the thousands of tracts drafted in Portuguese and dropped by South African aircraft on the southern regions of Angola.

No doubt it was to get this message across clearly that the industrial installations in Lubango and the works of art in Humpata, towns located more than 400 kilometers inside Angola territory, were destroyed in bombardments by South African aircraft, beginning in the spring of 1980. There were numerous victims in these two towns. And what can one say about the village of Monga, where the hospital, the school, and the residential quarters were destroyed?

Prof Arlindo Barbeitas, who has taught comparative history at Lubango University for 4 years, was to tell us: "We lived through days of horror during the days following 'Operation Proteus.'" Trucks were going back and forth between the battle areas and the hospital, which very soon could not handle the increasing numbers of wounded who kept arriving. A fetid smell hung over the building where about 100 bodies had been brought. South African aircraft even bombarded the coastal city of Porto Alexandre, located more than 250 kilometers from the frontier."

From the very many personal accounts received during our journey into southern Angola, we are in a position to state that the South Africans targeted civilian objectives. A British reported assured us that "South African pursuit planes fire on anything that moves, up to more than 200 kilometers north of the Namibian frontier." At Mupa a white Father was used for target practice [pris pour cible] for having twice refused to comply with orders from South African patrols not to treat "black Marxists" any longer. Today his mission is nothing but a pile of scorched stones.

For the South Africans it is a matter of destroying the existing economic and social infrastructures, justifying it by a claimed "right of [hot] pursuit." According to a Western medical source, it is feared that the South African forces have undertaken to destroy everything in the occupied towns, including livestock, so that SWAPO can find no means of support, thus creating a "no man's land" between Namibia and the rest of Angolan territory. It is presumed that the terrain has even been mined.

The military commitment of Pretoria has been increasing since the defeat of its troops in March 1976. Far from discouraging the South African administration, the coming to power of the MPLA led it instead to increase its military forces for foreign intervention. The law was amended to permit the government to operate anywhere in Africa south of the equator, [an area] considered a defense zone vital for South Africa, without asking permission from Parliament, if it considered the country's security endangered.

The defense budget, estimated in 1981 at \$2.8 billion, had quadrupled since 1974. Two-year military service is obligatory for whites, and now--in a supreme violation of apartheid--volunteer soldiers from other racial groups are accepted. Today more than 200,000 men are under arms. In Namibia 100,000 soldiers, including paramilitary forces, are based in a country whose population does not officially exceed 1 million persons.

Attacks against Angola are launched from the Dodge City, Delta, and Omega bases, situated in northern Namibia. According to deserters, mercenaries recruited from just about everywhere, in Europe as well as in Africa, acquire on these bases theoretical and practical knowledge concerning the use of mines and boobytraps. From these bases they carry out survival operations in the bush before being deployed, alone or in cooperation with soldiers from the racist South African Army, as a part of the commando raids launched against neighboring countries. It is estimated that the war of aggression carried out against Angola costs Mr Botha's government 1 million per day.

The Angolan Government states that between 1975 and 1980, South African attacks caused 42 billion francs' worth of damage, caused the death of at least 2,000 persons, and increased the procession of refugees by 150,000 persons.

Today Angola is experiencing difficult times. A number of observers agree that the situation has deteriorated considerably in all areas during the past year. In Luanda, the aggression occupies people's minds less than the harsh economic realities. The weight of the war is felt each day. It is

seen in the innumerable lines stretching out in front of the few meagerly stocked food stores. To the long hours of waiting are added the long hours of separation. It can happen that the whole family waits in line. You don't go to work that day. No matter! The most important thing is to be able to find something with which to feed the family. Obviously the obsession with daily living is not extraneous to that demobilization one senses in a population that is wondering about a situation whose outcome no one can predict with certainty.

The war? "Yes, it's down there in the south," they replied to us. A leader of the MPLA-Worker Party will willingly admit: "It is quite hard to heighten the awareness of the popular masses."

The Angolan leaders know that supply and distribution problems are the priority of priorities. One of them told us: "We must solve these two problems as soon as possible; otherwise, we shall endanger the gains of our revolution."

"Angola is the Vietnam of Africa," an expert from an international organization was to tell us. That is true, but the country's state of war, which absorbs nearly 50 percent of the budget (about \$1.8 billion) does not explain everything. The economic sabotage by foreign firms which fail to maintain delivery dates for the grain orders they have received must be added to the undeniable shortcomings which are in part the result of the political shortsightedness of a parasitic, incompetent bureaucracy. To all that is added the congestion at the port of Luanda, which does not help matters. Perishable merchandise waits for weeks before being unloaded. Some of it, already spoiled when finally unloaded, goes straight to the dump. President Dos Santos became alarmed by the serious situation which had arisen at the capital's port, where the congestion was about to paralyze whole sectors of the economy. In a blistering radio speech in May 1980 he condemned the "saboteurs who play into the hands of the internal reaction and who, because of their conduct, identify themselves with the petit-bourgeois class that is fighting against us."

There is no doubt that the behavior of rightist elements who occupy high positions in the leading party and government organizations seek to perpetuate the current unsatisfactory situation by slowing down or sabotaging the solution of urgent problems. In the long run this cannot but engender, and even aggravate, the current popular discontent and separate large sections of the population from the revolutionary process. Rightist elements seek this in order to try to reverse the lines of action defined immediately after the proclamation of independence, and thus return Angola to the bosom of imperialism. The slightly "tardy" application of recent government decisions suggests that in the weeks to come there should be a noteworthy improvement in the rhythm of boat unloadings. That will allow the state to save nearly \$200 million in the cost of immobilized capital each year. We add that, despite efforts to get organized, the port itself has not yet been able to reverse the tendency it has experienced since independence. It was planned for exports--particularly of agricultural raw materials and minerals--but it

is now used essentially for imports, which simply keep on increasing. The lack of equipment, spare parts, and specialized personnel remains a great handicap in improving services.

The new director, named by the President of the Republic, has taken draconic measures to speed up the unloading of boats, and the preliminary results has quickly been felt. The absentee rate has clearly dropped; thefts are becoming less frequent, in view of the extremely harsh punitive measures taken against looters. Thus, the daily tonnage unloaded is reaching 800 tons per day, against 200 tons a few months ago. At the Ministry of Foreign Trade it is estimated that between now and the end of April, congestion at the port of Luanda will gradually be reduced. Moreover, the situation at the capital's port differs from that at the ports of Lobito and Mocamedea, located, respectively, in the center and the south of the country, where the turnaround of boats takes place without difficulty.

There is no doubt that Angola's difficult economic situation is causing the greatest concern to Angola's leaders. These persons make no secret of it. The lack of trained personnel--the army takes the best of them, around 80 percent--partly explains the disastrous state of the automotive sector and the bad performance of the industrial sector. Taken as a whole, the country's plants are at best working at 30 percent of productive capacity, and the average absentee rate is around 40 percent.

It would seem that counterfeit 100 kwanza notes have appeared. Who is responsible for this operation? Apparently no one really knows. The internal reactionary forces certainly are not able to print this kind of counterfeit notes, even if the imitation is bad.

In 1981 the gap between state income and state expenses was approximately 25 billion kwanza, or around \$1 billion. This gives an idea of the rate of inflation. The 1982 budget is around \$3.6 billion, but it would seem that, taking into account the fact that foreign currency receipts will be less than the approximately \$600 million forecast, Angolan authorities will be forced to make real cuts, in particular to reduce investment expenses, and this implies another year of austerity. "There is no basis to Western rumors that the country is short of foreign exchange," a high official of the Angolan National Bank assured me. However, he admitted that for the past 6 months Angola had been experiencing a few cash-flow problems, and he stated that the balance-of-payments deficit would not exceed approximately \$100 million.

From the 250,000 tons of coffee marketed in 1973, the amount today has dropped to about 24,000 tons, representing 7 percent of total exports. Plantations are lying fallow in many places. In Uige Province, peasants are pulling up the coffee plants to plant cassava instead, the last two crops not having been marketed.

Part of the grain requirements must be imported, although the former colony exported grain. Six years ago, fishing provided 500,000 tons of fish; today, barely 80,000 tons. Cassinga iron mine production has practically stopped, and the same is true for production of manganese. However, diamond

production (12 percent of exports), which had fallen from 2.4 million carats (before independence) to 350,000 carats, has steadily improved, going from 1.5 million in 1980 to 1.6 million in 1981. It should reach around 2 million carats in 1983.

On the other hand, petroleum is the only sector that has been spared. It constitutes the keystone of the Angolan economy and provides approximately 80 percent of its receipts. The state of Angola controls 51 percent of the sector, with the bulk of production exported to the United States. Gulf Oil continues to exploit the principal deposits situated off Cabinda Province. It is claimed that production should soon exceed the record level of 8.6 million tons of 1977, reaching 12 million tons in 1983 and 15 million tons in 1985. However, some clouds are looming on the horizon. In fact, the directors of Gulf Oil have just informed their Angolan counterparts that for "technical reasons" they are considering a 45-percent reduction in production. This is a serious threat, since Gulf Oil provides 75 percent of the production, or \$1.5 billion of the \$2 billion that petroleum brings in to the state of Angola. Negotiations between the two interested parties were to begin at the end of January.

A more centralized management of foreign trade is envisaged. This involves the requirement for Planning Ministry authorization of any signing of a contract, stricter control over imports so that they will remain within the limits of the austerity policy, and priority to defense and security, as well as to the food sector, and to productive investments.

Food shortages, which affect the population so deeply, result in part from a drought which has grievously afflicted the country for 2 years, and also from an agricultural policy based on the creation of state farms, without, it would appear, adequately considering the peasants' motivation, the marketing of their products, and hence remuneration for their production. The result is that peasants limit their production to their own needs. They care nothing about money, since they can purchase nothing with it.

We are assured that emphasis from now on is to be placed on a plan for repurchasing agricultural products and on the restructuring of plantations, particularly the coffee plantations. A policy of encouraging a return to the countryside is also under study, and the first experiments have been found encouraging. We also note that since the beginning of last year, corn and cassava have been better marketed. Still in the field of agriculture, we add that certain techniques imposed by experts from some socialist countries have hardly contributed--to say the least--to starting up again or developing, certain sectors that previously were the pride of Angolan agriculture.

Finally, the renewed outbreak since 1979 of guerrilla warfare by armed UNITA bands in the vast regions of the center, the country's richest, disorganizes food production, slows down the development of projects coming from international or religious organizations, and cannot fail to have possibly tragic repercussions on the population of these provinces, the most populous in Angola, if such a situation should continue further.

Near the urban centers, on the other hand, parallel distribution networks have replaced the state's deficient ones, and the products thus marketed sell at astronomical prices. It is estimated that nearly 50 percent of state acquisitions do not reach the official distribution networks. Aside from the fact that the "Zairota" (Angolans from Zaire) drown the capital with a kind of music that is just the opposite of the great Angolan popular traditional music, they seem to be the unchallenged masters of all kinds of trafficking. The capital's population has tripled since 1974, going from 450,000 inhabitants to around 1.2 million. This concentration and the shortages favor the black market. In Luanda, at the Sao Polo market, [the black market] is going full blast. Piles of oranges, green tomatoes, eggplant, peppers, salads, and onions reach prices that turn away the most well-to-do. A mixed salad, for example, comes to 150 francs. Farther on, loads of fish of the most varied kinds are piled up on stone counters. The prices asked make you dizzy--even those people who have the privilege of being able to buy them. For the time being, the authorities are also considering encouraging small retail trade by granting fiscal relief in order to improve distribution.

For the moment, although new restructurings of the economy are under way in an attempt to attenuate current difficulties, hundreds of thousands of displaced persons need help. First of all there are those who were unable to flee the occupation zones and who, in order to survive, were forced to take refuge in the bush, where under extremely difficult circumstances the Angola authorities are trying to send them foodstuffs. Some of the trucks departing from the north of the country in the direction of these zones will not reach their destination, victims of machinegunning or bombing by Pretoria's aircraft. Then there are other refugees--those who are in Mocamedes, Lubango, Kuando Kubango, etc., some 300 kilometers from the Angolan frontier. Some 150,000 of them have fled the combat zone and the intense bombardment by South African aircraft.

One must bring food and medical care, everything to help a population survive, to these hundreds of thousands of persons, who arrived at these reassembly camps in conditions that can easily be imagined.

Some had to travel hundreds of kilometers on foot, wandering in the wilds for up to a month. How many disappeared in this way? No one knows. A continued effort is thus required from the Angolan Government and from international organizations. Faced with such a tragic situation, it does not appear that the departments of the ministries concerned have always taken the most appropriate steps to meet the problems; nor do the proposals emanating from international organizations seem to have been studied with all the attention desired.

However, raids or the emplacement of mines are not the only manifestations of the war which South Africa is waging against Angola. It often assumes the most devious aspect of a secret war, by using UNITA commandos, for example.

The support that Angola provides SWAPO must also be "paid for" by the survival of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA],

the movement led by Jonas Savimbi, supported at arm's length by Pretoria. A Central Committee secretary told us: "UNITA is the most sophisticated war machine that South Africa has prepared."

Some leaders in Luanda, apparently quite naive, seek to deny there is any implantation of this group in the interior of the country.

The fact remains that, through some of their comments and their actions, these leaders do recognize its existence.

Control of the center of the country is as vital for the government as it is for UNITA. In these regions Savimbi's armed bands, who enjoy an ethnic support that is difficult to deny, have established insecurity and disorganized the provincial economies that are the richest in Angola. They operate practically from the Zambian frontier, where they are installed, to the port of Benguela, with points in the south and even in the northeast where they have recently appeared, no doubt with the support of Mobutu.

A few months ago, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos claimed that in 1978-1980, the armed forces of Angola had inflicted "heavy losses on the puppets armed and trained by imperialism."

In the space of 1 year, 100 Angolans accused of having placed bombs in several cities in the country, causing the death of numerous persons, have been brought before the popular revolutionary tribunal. Considering the Angolan leaders' repugnance for capital punishment, these trials, and their verdicts, certainly illustrate a malaise that is all the greater since it is not officially acknowledged.

Furthermore, the military situation in the south is very disquieting. It is estimated that the UNITA armed forces number approximately 10,000 men. They are provided fresh supplies by Hercules C-130 airplanes which land on runways built at the time by the Portuguese, in the great preserves of the region. The South Africans are transforming it into a rear base, possibly in order to create a buffer state from which they could launch broad-scale operations in the direction of Huambo, which is their objective.

"They have already begun," we are told. "The recent bombardment of villages in Moxico Province could only take place from these bases." For the time being, trucks, cannons, missiles, all kinds of munitions, gasoline tanks, etc., are stocked there.

Nothing can really be done without ending the war. With peace, everything can be accomplished. For some, internal peace means reconciliation with L'UNITA. However, the MPLA affirms, "We shall never negotiate with Savimbi." Where do matters stand, exactly? It is quite difficult to know, although upheavals over this question agitate the Central Committee.

The reorganization of the party's provincial committees and of the military leadership of the frontal zones suggests that discussions are taking place within the bosom of the ruling organizations. A "divisionist" phenomenon well

and truly exists, and certain leaders are proclaiming loud and strong that a strict battle on the political and ideological level should be undertaken to frustrate these ideas.

South Africa is making increasingly strong attacks against this country. As far as Angolan public opinion is concerned, it sees in a true Namibian independence the solution of all its difficulties. But nothing is less certain.

Settlement of the problems of southern Africa continues to attract the attention of observers who fear the development of the situation in this region of the African continent, which is subject to destabilization efforts of the Reagan administration.

It is true that Angola's position vis-a-vis the Namibian problem is of first importance for the resolution of that problem. For this reason, moreover, [the remainder of this paragraph repeats, word for word, the text two paragraphs earlier] South Africa is making increasingly strong attacks against this country. As far as Angolan public opinion is concerned, it sees in a true Namibian independence the solution of all its difficulties. But nothing is less certain.

The Angolan experiment is barely 6 years old. That is very little time for drawing up a balance sheet. But one can nevertheless ask oneself a number of questions. After independence, acquired through a long liberation struggle, Angola started on the path of building socialism. How is this prospect being assimilated by Angolan society? What will be the relations between the towns, with populations that are sometimes detribalized and of mixed racial background, and the countryside, which is more closely connected with traditional values? Will the Angolan people not equate socialism with poverty if their country's economy does not rapidly emerge from the postcolonial phase? In the last analysis, what content will be given those relations--which the Luanda leaders term "preferential"--between their country and the countries of Eastern Europe, although now there appears to be an opening toward the Western countries?

In any event, the experiment under way in the former Portuguese colony is still too young for one to make a judgment about it. The more so since any evolution cannot fail to take into account Angola's contribution to the pursuit of decolonialization of the African continent.

9772

CSO: 4719/819

BRIEFS

SOVIET, BULGARIAN FILMS DONATION--A total of 23 films from the Soviet film library, GOSFONDFILM, were presented by Vadim Loguinov, Soviet ambassador to Angola, to Luandino Vieira, director of the Angolan Film Institute, in a ceremony held yesterday at the national film library facilities in Luanda. These films, representing the development of the cinematographic art from the 1920's until now, are intended to bolster the film collection of the Angolan national film library which is made up exclusively of films produced domestically. Meanwhile, last year, the national film library became a member of the International Federation of Film Archives (FIAF), and this will enable Angola to exchange films with other members of the federation. It may be recalled that the national film library was privileged to receive an offer of 62 films from the Bulgarian film industry last year but that, for reasons of transportation, the films have not yet arrived in our country. Participating in the ceremony were Luisa de Almeida, head of the national film library, representatives of the Secretariat of State for Culture, directors of the party's film departments, armed forces leaders and directors of the National Laboratories and of the Film Distribution Company (EDECINE). [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 14 May 82 p 2] 8568

SHORTAGE OF FILTER CIGARETTES--The manufacture of filter cigarettes will be stopped in the country's three tobacco factories within the next few days and for an indefinite period due to a lack of raw material. According to sources close to the tobacco sector, the manufacture of filterless cigarettes will not be affected by this temporary crisis, and the production levels will even be increased as an alternative to the presumable shortage of certain types of tobacco the country will be experiencing. The raw material in question is acetate, an essential ingredient in the manufacture of filters for cigarettes of greatest domestic consumption whose stocks have completely run out in recent days, affecting the normal operation of the firm, FILTRANGOLA, which has been shut down since 21 April. The ship which transports this raw material was expected at the Lobito port yesterday. Although the shipment is consigned to Luanda, all necessary measures are being taken to have it cleared in Lobito and reshipped to Luanda by the most rapid means possible to minimize the cigarette crisis which is sure to be felt in the next few days. The duration of the cigarette crisis is difficult to predict due to the slow unloading operation at our domestic ports, but, with the reserve stocks depleted, Luanda and other provinces will be deprived of this product of great consumption for at least 2 or 3 weeks. [Excerpts] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 15 May 82 p 2] 8568

ITALIAN FOOD DONATION--The Italian Government has granted the People's Republic of Angola nutritional aid in the form of 5,000 tons of rice and 4,636 tons of wheat flour. This offer is in keeping with the relations of friendship and cooperation existing between the Angolan and Italian Governments, based on the principle of full equality, reciprocity of benefits and mutual respect. The rice was officially consigned on 5 May at a ceremony held at Luanda's commercial port and officiated by Manuel Difaila, national director of cooperation, and Francesco Corrias, acting Italian ambassador to our country. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 13 May 82 p 2] 8568

OFFICIAL VISITS CUBAN SCHOOLS--Rodeth Maquina Gil, secretary of state for social affairs and member of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Labor Party, is in Cuba for a 7-day official visit. He was received by Jose Ramon Fernandez, Cuban minister of education. Last week, Rodeth Gil, accompanied by officials of his office, visited the Isle of Youth where about 1,800 Angolan scholarship recipients are pursuing studies. In addition, during his sojourn in Cuba, the secretary of state for social affairs will visit grade schools and the Fulgencio Oroz Professional Personnel Training School sponsored by the Cuban Ministry of Education. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 13 May 82 p 2] 8568

JMPLA SECRETARY VISITS KOMSOMOL--Domingos Bartolomeu, first secretary of the JMPLA [Youth Movement of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Youth Party, member of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Labor Party, left Luanda yesterday for Moscow for a 10-day official visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Leninist Komsomol [Communist Youth League]. The youthful leader's visit is aimed essentially at an exchange of experiences between the JMPLA-Youth Party and the Leninist Komsomol as well as a strengthening of the traditional bonds of friendship existing between the two youth organizations. The state of war in southern Angola and the common struggle against international imperialism are also to be highlights of Domingos Bartolomeu's visit to the Soviet Union. In addition, Alcino Pinto, of the Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome e Principe, passed through Luanda, also on the way to the Soviet Union for an official and friendly visit at the invitation of the Leninist Komsomol. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 15 May 82 p 2] 8568

GDR DONATION--Today, the GDR Committee of Solidarity will deliver a donation of solidarity goods to the People's Republic of Angola. The delivery will be made at 1600 hours at the 4 February International Airport by Kurt Toth, secretary of the above committee. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 15 May 82 p 2] 8568

CSO: 4742/319

DEMONSTRATORS OPPOSE REMOVAL OF SERETSE'S PORTRAIT FROM CURRENCY

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 23 May 82 p 8

[Article by Norman Chandler]

[Text] Hundreds of Batswana took to the streets this week in protest against a plan to remove Sir Seretse Khama's portrait from the country's currency notes.

The demonstration took place in Mahalapye, 200km north of Gaborone, where placard-waving demonstrators marched on the offices of the district commissioner.

The crowd--made up almost entirely of government supporters--chanted slogans and called on the government of Dr Quett Masire not to remove the former president's portrait.

The country is already seething over a presidential order earlier this year that photographs of Sir Seretse, who died in 1980, had to be removed from offices and shop walls and replaced with a picture of the incumbent president.

Decision

The Mahalapye demo came after the Minister of Education, Mr K Morake, claimed that Sir Seretse had taken a policy decision shortly before he died in July 1980 that the portrait on Botswana currency should be that of the president of the time.

The demonstrators sent a petition to Dr Masire asking that his predecessor's portrait should remain.

The office of the president declined comment.

Indications that the Botswana government is under pressure came recently when cabinet ministers began a nationwide tour to tell the population that the Botswana Democratic Party was not interested in establishing a one-party state.

This has been denied by the opposition Botswana National Front. It claims that many civil servants and army and police personnel are disenchanted.

The government, meanwhile, had challenged the BNF to substantiate its claims, which it says are "imaginary".

The Minister of Information, Mr D Kwelagobe, said this week that the BDP was "a shining example of democracy".

However, he later said the opposition parties would no longer receive publicity in the only newspaper in the country.

CSO: 4700/1356

ARAB SHEIK'S PLAN TO BUILD SAFARI PLAYGROUND REPORTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 23 May 82 p 49

[Article by Norman Chandler]

[Text]

AN ARAB sheik is to build a great R1,5-million safari playground in the wilds of Botswana.

The 27-year-old Arab may be Sheik Mohammad al-Fassi ... who earns a mind-boggling R240-million a year.

He will also build a tarmac airstrip to take his Boeing 707 and restore a 1920's house which once belonged to a Scottish earl.

But the son of the desert is emphatic about one thing — no cars.

Horse and cart buggys will be the only mode of transport on the sheikh's 20 000ha playground.

The sheik hired former American Central Intelligence Agency agent Ken T Crane to deal with influential Botswana businessman Derek Brink.

The Botswana project is one of several similar jet-set haunts owned by the sheikh around the world.

The agreement was signed last weekend at Mr Brink's Limpopo Safari Lodge, 300km from Botswana's capital, Gaborone.

Mr Crane spent 10 days touring the area before flying back to the United States, via Johannesburg, on Tuesday.

The Arab millionaire will spend about R1,5-million on his safari project ... excluding the airstrip.

But the sheik is not expected to visit his new playground until 1984. And after that it will be at infrequent intervals, according to sources connected to the scheme.

Excited

The safari ranch is on the banks of the Limpopo River, which is to be dammed in order to provide a huge waterhole for game viewing.

Wildlife and game are to be reintroduced and, according to tentative plans outlined to me this week, part of the ranch will be fenced off to provide a natural home for lion and other predators.

It is also planned to stock the estate with elephant, antelope, giraffe and zebra.

One of the biggest jobs before the jet-setters descend on Botswana will be the restoration of a great Gatsby-style house, formerly the home of the Earl of Moray.

The derelict, rambling 15-roomed house will have nearly R300 000 spent on it.

The present tin roof is to be taken off ... thatch will replace it.

New bedrooms and a restaurant are to be added, fountains and a swimming pool installed, and the house luxuriously furnished in the style of the '20s.

Although some of the restoration work will be undertaken by interior decorators from Europe, South African and Botswana experts are to be brought in to do part of the work.

It is expected that the house will be ready for occupation in about two years.

The house — which commands a magnificent view of the Limpopo — was built of local red brick in 1923. The Earl of Moray moved in in 1925.

The earl was the first person to land an aircraft in Botswana ... on his private airstrip near the house.

The same airstrip will now be lengthened and tarred to take aircraft up to the size of a Boeing 707.

A spokesman for Mr Brink told me that the Limpopo Safari Lodge would be renamed in honour of the earl.

"It is possible that the new name will be Lord Moray's Hunting Lodge. But no final decision has yet been reached," I was told.

Safari experts and safari company operators in Botswana were excited at the news about the sheik's huge investment.

One said that it would provide a massive shot-in-the-arm for the local tourist industry and take Botswana a

long way towards its goal of overtaking Kenya as the world's top game-viewing and conservation nation.

Potential

Botswana boasts some of the finest game-viewing and hunting areas in Africa and is commonly referred to among big game hunters as "the last great wilderness".

Among areas which have a huge potential to attract international tourists are the Okavango swamps, Ngameland, the Kalaharia Desert and the northern part of the Tuli Block, where tourists can spend up to R125 a day for the privilege of staying at remote game lodges far from telephones, newspapers and passable roads.

Americans in particular already visit the country on hunting safaris, but the Botswana Government is now proving to be more than strict on who can hunt and who can hold hunting licences.

From this year, only Botswana citizens will be allowed to hold these licences ... a move which has been welcomed in many quarters as a sure sign of the country's attitude towards conserving its wild life.

MINISTER ON ROLE OF NATURALIZED CITIZENS

MB180736 Maseru Domestic Service in English 1130 GMT 18 Jun 82

[Text] Nine people have pledged allegiance to his majesty King Moshoeshoe II, to the government and the people of Lesotho at a ceremony (?presided over by) minister of interior and cheiftancy affairs, the honorable (Mrena) Sekhonyana Maseribane. Seven of these people are former South African citizens, [names indistinct], and the last two are former Indian nationals, [names indistinct].

Speaking during the ceremony, (Mrena) Sekhonyana expressed the belief that the foreigners took the citizenship of Lesotho after deep consideration, as it is always a difficult task to renounce one's own rightful citizenship.

He appealed to them to be loyal as citizens of this country and not to exploit the resources and other amenities it offers. The minister said it has come to the notice of government that most foreigners seeking citizenship in Lesotho, particularly those from Europe and Asia, do not give Basotho their due respect. The minister said naturalized citizens of this country who happen to own businesses are discriminatory in the employment and promotion of their employees. (Mrena) Maseribane told the new Lesotho citizens that for a long time the government has expressed its concern about foreigners who trade in this country but invest their money in South Africa. The minister said it is also known that Europeans and Asians living in Lesotho by naturalization never encourage their children to join the security forces of this country to show their participation. In addition, they never attend such customary occasions like Moshoeshoe's day and the king's birthday, and worse still, they never attend national (?peoples') funerals and the like. (Mrena) Maseribane warned the new citizens that their citizenship can be withdrawn and they be deported when they are found to be disloyal to the country.

CSO: 4700/1411

LESOTHO

BRIEFS

PARACHUTE MANUFACTURE--MASERU--An international consortium with headquarters in Paris has established a company in Lesotho to manufacture a wide range of parachutes for military and sporting use for export at an investment of more than R400 000, the managing director of the Lesotho National Development Corporation (LNDC), Mr Sam Montsi, announced yesterday. Mr Montsi said in an interview the factory building in Maseru's industrial area was being provided by the LNDC for renting to the new company. The company had entered into a technical support contract with a South African parachute manufacturer to provide the technical expertise for the operation of the factory and the training of its workers, he said. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 3 Jun 82 p 9]

SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITY VOTE--Graduates of the University of Witswatersand residing in Lesotho are urged to vote Nelson Mandela chancellor of the university. The appeal is made by the Committee for Action and Solidarity for Southern Africa--CASSAS. In a statement, CASSAS emphasized that a vote for Nelson Mandela is a vote against apartheid and racism. [Excerpt] [MB171416 Maseru Domestic Service in English 1130 GMT 17 Jun 82 MB]

CSO: 4700/1411

KARPEH PROPOSES CONSTRUCTION OF NEW MINISTRY COMPLEX

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 28 May 82 pp 1, 10

[Text]

A proposal has been made to the Head of State for the construction of a new National Defense Ministry complex and a military hospital near Monrovia.

The proposal, made by Defense Minister Major Albert S. Karpeh, calls for the construction of the new military complex somewhere in Paynesville, and the military hospital building along the Monrovia-Schiefflin highway.

Disclosing this in an interview at the Defense Ministry on Benson Street Wednesday, Minister Karpeh said the objective of the proposed facilities is to enable his Ministry to house all its departments and sections in one complex for smooth and speedy operations, and to alleviate the problem of space and huge sums of money paid by government annually to private individuals for the leasing of their buildings.

Currently, the Ministry is paying some \$13,000 every year for leasing the Ministry's central headquarters on Benson Street alone, in addition to several separate buildings rented in the city for military purposes.

Costs

The Minister said that the two new facilities would be erected on military reservations and not on private land.

The actual costs for the two complexes have not been determined, but it is expected that together they will be in the neighbourhood of \$24 million. Models for the two

buildings are presently in the office of the Minister on Benson Street.

Facilities to be included in the new ministry complex will be office spaces, logistic support areas, recreational facilities, cafeteria and parking lots

Hospital

The military hospital, according to one Ministry official responsible for Civil Works, is expected to include similar facilities as those at the J.F.K. Medical Center in Sinkor, Monrovia. Soldiers and their dependents are to benefit from free medical care. Staffing will be done by military as well as civilian medical personnel.

Optimism

Major General Karpeh reiterated that if the proposal is accepted and approved by the Head of State and the PRC, it will have several important long term benefits, including the proper coordination of the Ministry's various facets of operations.

Besides being a credit to the PRC Government, the construction of the two facilities will represent a break from the past government policy of renting private premises for official use. Minister Karpeh pointed out.

He observed that one reason why the former government showed reluctance to erect a new ministry building was because many people in that government owned some of the houses and were pleased to lease them to government.

The present Defense Ministry building on Benson Street, owned by the heirs of the late Benjamin G. Freeman, was leased to government in the early 1950s at which time the then Department of National Defense moved there. The phrase 'Ministry of National Defense' came into use in 1972. Col. Tommy Raynes, Assistant Minister for Public Affairs, who gave this information, also noted that the former Department of War, later named Defense Department, was located on Carey Street on the present vacant lot (Tommy Bernard's garage) adjacent to Shela Cinema.

Defense Ministry personnel also indicated that the proposed buildings would be completed within two years once construction started.

The PRC Government is already undertaking a massive, multi-million dollar construction program of military barracks throughout the country, with substantial assistance from the United States Government. ~~In the light of~~ this, Defense Ministry officials are optimistic that Government will consider the plan worthwhile and eventually approve it.

CSO: 4700/1355

DOE TELLS PRC REVOLUTION MEANT TO RAISE PEOPLES' STANDARD OF LIVING

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 28 May 82 pp 1, 10

[Excerpt]

The Head of State and Commander-In-Chief, Dr. Samuel K. Doe, said Wednesday in Monrovia that the PRC believes in finding a solution to the sufferings of the Liberian people by reviving the feverish economy, and not visiting revenge on those who did injustice to the state in the past.

The C-I-C made this assertion at the Executive Mansion when Vice Head of State J. Nicholas Podier, Jr. led an army of Councilmen to present a statement of support for the Doe administration and also wish Dr. Doe a safe return home.

The Head of State told the PRC members that the April 12 Revolution was not meant to be a "money making" adventure, but an exercise to upgrade the living standards of all Liberians.

"What should claim our attention as councilmen", he noted, "now that we have covered two years of our popular revolution, is the interest of the Liberian people as a whole, without disregard for law and order".

In this vein, Dr. Doe vowed to instill discipline and tranquility in the People's Redemption Council, even if it calls for him to reduce the council to "two men".

He also expressed concern over the actions of certain PRC members which, he said, tend to impede the operations of the council and baffle the progress of the Liberian nation as a whole.

In this relation, he exhorted all councilmen to refrain from lies, abuse of power, arbitrary arrests and molestation of people, warning that violators would be dealt with accordingly.

"You as members of the Council," he advised, "should sit down and plan development oriented programs for the Liberian people, taking into consideration that the development of the Liberian Nation is our first priority".

Chairman Doe told his colleagues to "know" their responsibilities as Councilmen. "I will not back anyone against wrong doing", he warned.

He also reiterated that the reason which sparked the April 12 Revolution of 1980 was not "for money making or gaining wealth," but to improve the

quality of life for the Liberian people.

Head of State C-I-C Doe made these statements at the Executive Mansion Tuesday when members of the PRC, led by Vice Head of State Major J. Nicholas Podier, presented him a statement of support for his administration and his safe return from his recent Afro-Asian visits.

The statement, read by Speaker of the Council, Brigadier General Jeffred Gbatu, and presented to Head of State Doe by Co-Chairman Podier, was in recognition of the selfless manner in which he had dedicated himself to the welfare, development and progress of the Liberian people, despite the many obstacles inherited from the past regime.

According to the Liberia News Agency, the statement fur-

ther said Chairman Doe's call for new direction in the development of Liberia and to point the way to new vistas of hope and new dimensions of involvement and awareness of the Liberian people and nation for progress.

The Councilmen recalled Chairman Doe's achievements during the past two years and pointed out that the two years of his administration have seen actual revolutionary and evolutionary changes, national growth, development, and a new cultural awakening for the Liberian people.

C-I-C Doe thanked members of the Council for the statement of support and hoped that they would work together in harmony so that the Council can achieve its goals before 1985, the year set for return to a constitutional government.

CSO: 4700/1355

DOE RULES MCC'S SUPERVISION FALLS UNDER INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 28 May 82 p 3

[Text]

Head of State Samuel Kanyon Doe has given his government's position regarding the controversy between the Monrovia City Corporation and the Ministry of Internal Affairs over an autonomous status for MCC.

An Executive Mansion press release yesterday said the Head of State has declared that the supervision of the MCC falls directly under the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

He made this clarification as a result of an apparent misunderstanding that developed between MCC and the Ministry regarding the status of City Hall and its relationship to the ministry during a seminar on Tuesday in Monrovia.

In a letter to Col. Edward K. Sackor, Minister of Internal Affairs, C-I-C Doe stated that "although the Corporation enjoys a certain degree of autonomy, it still falls under the supervision of that ministry. The PRC will maintain this position," the release added.

It stated that the Head of State had directed the Minister to inform Mayor Gaylor Johnson of Government's position and to urge him to cooperate toward the enhancement

of the smooth operation of the Corporation."

Making welcome remarks on Tuesday at the official launching of the First Monrovia Urban Development Project at the City Hall, Mayor Major Johnson proposed an autonomous agency status for the MCC.

He said if this was done, most of the obstacles encountered in receiving essential facilities would be minimized. He said that because MCC passes through several ministries and agencies of government to get things process, "at times it takes us months" to get gasoline and spare parts for vehicles used by the MCC.

Minister Sackor, disagreeing with Mayor Johnson's recommendation during an interview with the DAILY OBSERVER, said "all over the world, city corporations function under the ministry or agency responsible for home or internal affairs."

He felt that "if the Monrovia City Corporation is granted an autonomous status, other cities in the country could claim the same privilege, thereby making every city independent."

He said he had already made a request to the Head of State to include other surrounding cities, such as Paynesville into the Monrovia City Corporation.

CSO: 4700, 1355

NPF TO OCCUPY HEADQUARTERS IN MONROVIA IN TWO YEARS

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 28 May 82 p 10

[Article by Westmore Dahn]

[Excerpt]

The Liberia National Police Force (NPF) is expected to occupy its own \$12 million modern headquarters in Monrovia in two years' time.

Documents for the Contractual Agreement for the construction of this complex were yesterday signed between the Government of Liberia and the Tayar Woodworks and Construction Company (TWCC), a Liberian registered Lebanese construction firm at the Ministry of Public Works.

The Public Works Minister, Major E. Hendrique Brooks, signed for the Liberian Government, while TWCC president Mr. George Atallah and Civil Engineer Joseph Younis signed for their company.

According to Major Brooks, the total cost of the structure is \$12,044,74.44.

The Y-shaped building consists of five floor levels, two

basements and three upper floors covering area of 15,768 sq. ft. It is designed to accommodate more than 500 policemen and an administrative staff of about 300 members.

The building will be located within the area covered by the existing police headquarters and its surroundings.

When completed, the new police station will bring all segments of the police together, including the Task Force, C.I.D. and Motor Vehicle Division.

It would consist of a mini-gymnasium, lockers, library, first aid station, cafeteria and cells among others.

In brief remarks following the signing of the accord, the Public Works Minister said the construction of a new and modern home for the police was a clear manifestation of the PRC Government's interest to uplift the standard of law enforcement in the country.

CSO: 4700/1355

DEFENSE MINISTRY ANNOUNCES CHANGES IN AFL LEADERSHIP

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 27 May 82 pp 1, 10

[Text]

The Defense Ministry yesterday announced several changes in the leadership of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL), confirming a rumor that had been circulating in the city in the last two days.

The rumour was that the Commander of the Executive Mansion Guard, Col. Jerry Jorwley, had been removed from that position, and transferred to the Capitol Building for reassignment.

A Defense Ministry release issued late yesterday said that the Executive Mansion Guard indeed had a new Commander, in the person of Brig. General Emmanuel Sayon, who had served as Aide de Camp to the Liberian Head of State.

Gen Sayon succeeds Col. Jorwley, who has been reassigned to the Capitol, according to the release.

This is the second time that the commander of the Executive Mansion Guard, which is responsible for guarding the Head of State and the Mansion grounds, has been changed since the PRC Government came to power.

The first commander was Col. David Kimeh who, the release indicated, was relieved of his post and transferred to the Capitol Building to take his seat as a member of the PRC. He was then succeeded by Col. Jorwley.

The Defense Ministry release, signed by Chief Information Officer Capt. Roland Livingstone, gave no reason for the removal of Col. Jorwley from his EMG post. But

observers found the action interestingly close to the 'indefinite' suspension of PRC Senior Member, Col. Larry Borteh. However, no known connection has been established between the two actions.

Binding Wounds

Another significant change in the Armed Forces announced by Defense, yesterday, is the re-instatement and assignment of Col. Arthur Bedell as Assistant Chief of Staff for the Aviation Unit, AFL.

Col. Bedell's re-instatement and assignment represents another important attempt by the Head of State and Commander-in-Chief, Dr. S. K. Doe, to reconcile the country, by binding the nation's wounds and moving forward.

Col. Bedell, a trained pilot who previously served as Commander for the Aviation Unit following the April 12 Coup, was later dismissed from active service in the army for his alleged involvement in an attempted plot to overthrow the PRC Government in May 1980.

After serving detention for several months he was later freed along with other political prisoners, in one of the Head of State's reconciliatory gestures.

Also re-instated yesterday into active service was Major A. Tugbe Myers, reputed to be one of the nation's finest ROTC instructors, who is now ranked Lt. Colonel.

He has been assigned to the Tubman Military Academy in Todee.

Court Martial

The Defense Ministry also disclosed that the AFL Logistics Commander, Col. John G. Nuahn, has been reduced in rank from Colonel to Major. He is to be confined for a month.

According to the Defense Ministry release, "the reduction of Col. Nuahn to the rank of Major came as a result of an unauthorized press interview which he conducted without any reference to the authorities of the Defense Ministry. He was also charged with releasing information not authorized by the Defense authorities.

The action against the Logistics Commander was reached at a staff meeting held on Monday at the Defense Ministry to investigate an

interview which Col. Nuahn gave to the Daily Observer, which the paper carried under the headline, 'Americans in our Government?'

The release quoted Armed Forces Chief of Staff, Lt. General Henry S. Dubah, as having said that members of the Armed Forces of Liberia are not politicians, but strictly security men.

The General, the release continued, urged all military personnel to refrain from politics and rather concentrate on the security of the nation.

General Dubah noted that any army personnel wishing to invite the

Major John G. Nuahn

press for an interview must, first of all, seek the approval from the Defense Ministry, adding that such interviews must be limited to only area of operations or assignment.

The Chief of Staff declared that any military personnel "unauthorizedly granting a press interview will be court martialled and punished in accordance with the code."

CSO: 4700/1355

MINISTER SPEAKS AT SEMINAR LAUNCHING MONROVIA DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 26 May 82 p 3

[Text]

It is estimated that the population of the City of Monrovia, growing at the rate of seven per cent would rise from 400,000 to 600,000 by the end of this century.

At this rate, the problem of increased slum areas, leading to health hazards in the nation's capital is expected to rise sharply.

Internal Affairs Minister Col. Edward Sackor disclosed this yesterday when he outlined the development problems of Monrovia at the opening session of a three-day seminar marking the launching of the Monrovia-Urban Development Project.

He said already, a large number of residents of Monrovia live in areas unfit for human habitation and added that the project was a significant milestone to improving the living conditions of the city dwellers.

Col. Sackor said the launching of the project was in line with the PRC Government's continued efforts and commitment to upgrade the socio-economic standards of the Liberian people.

He called on the implementing agencies of the project to work assiduously for the completion of the project on scheduled.

Col. Sackor said the project was not intended to improve living con-

ditions and create job opportunities only but was also designed to strengthen the municipal management of the City Corporation of Monrovia as well as to establish land ownership title in the city.

The absence of increased infrastructural development in the rural areas, Minister Sackor noted was a major factor contributing to the growing rate of rural-urban migration.

To minimize the influx of rural inhabitants into urban centers and to ensure the full exploitation of the nation's agricultural and touristic potentials, Col. Sackor said it was necessary to provide rural areas with portable water system, electrification and communication facilities.

The \$13.3 million Monrovia-Urban Development Project is being jointly financed by the World Bank and the International Development Association through a \$10 million loan offered by the bank, while the Liberian Government will provide the remaining \$3.3 million.

The Internal Affairs Minister said when the project is completed, his ministry would embark on similar projects to other parts of the country.

Minister of State for Presidential

Affairs, Dr. Harry Nayou, who deputized for Head of State Doe at the occasion, said the PRC Government considered the project a top priority to ensure a healthy environment for residents of the city.

He called on the Internal Affairs Ministry and the Monrovia City Corporation to consolidate their efforts for the successful implementation of the project.

The Monrovia-Urban Development Project is the result of a feasibility study conducted from 1976 to 1978 by the Liberian Government with the assistance of the World Bank to identify and pro-

pose alternative solutions to the urban problems facing the City of Monrovia.

A semi-autonomous branch of the Monrovia City Corporation, the Monrovia-Urban Development Project is currently undertaking the development of the communities of Slipway, Claratown and Sonewein.

The opening session was attended by high ranking government officials, including G. Baccus Matthews, Director of the Cabinet, Mrs. Martha S. Belleh, Minister of Health and Social Welfare as well as representatives of government ministries and agencies.

IDA GRANTS CREDIT TO AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 26 May 82 p 8

[Text]

Some 8,000 farm families in Liberia will increase their production of food and cash crops through an agricultural development project assisted by an SDR 13.3 million (\$15.5 million) credit from the International Development Association (IDA) the World Bank's Affiliate for concessionary lending.

The \$28 million project, the second IDA-supported project for agricultural development in the Lofa County region, will further the Government's aim to increase smallholder participation in agriculture.

Co-financing of \$9.6 million is to be provided by the American Development Fund.

Under the project, up to \$5 million will be lent to individual farmers through a co-operative system to help provide farm supplies such as included in the project to help smallholder farmers expand their production.

The training and visit system will be used and female extension workers will be employed

to teach women farmers.

Improvements will also be made in the Agricultural Produce Marketing Corporation and in the operations of Agricultural Co-operatives.

Living conditions in the region will be upgraded through the construction of feeder roads, farm access tracks, farmer subcentres village wells and latrines.

The swamp rice areas involved in the project will be monitored for schistosomiasis, a tropical disease prevalent in the country.

The project will also provide technical assistance to establish a central monitoring and evaluation unit in the Ministry of Agriculture to train and supervise evaluation units for regional agricultural development projects like the one in Lofa County.

The IDA credit is for 50 years including 10 years of grace; it carries no interest but bears a small annual service charge of 0.5 per cent on the undisbursed balances of the credit and 0.75 per cent on the disbursed balances.

UL TO START MA DEGREE PROGRAM IN REGIONAL PLANNING

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 27 May 82 pp 1, 10

[Excerpt]

The University of Liberia will begin a Master of Arts degree program in Regional Planning in 1983, a U.L. press release disclosed yesterday.

The program, which will be implemented by the Department of Geography of Liberia College, is designed to provide the necessary skills and aptitude for Regional Planning in Liberia.

Some of its emphasis will be on interdisciplinary assessment of environmental policy and planning, legal framework for planning, and regional planning research.

This is the first time an institution of higher learning in Liberia is offering a graduate degree in the field of liberal arts.

Those whose careers will involve the formulation and implementation of regional development policies and those who expect to be engaged

mainly in research and the teaching of regional planning will subscribe to the Master's degree program.

However, the course will also provide an opportunity for actual practitioners of regional planning and related fields to update their planning skills through short courses, workshops and seminars.

Requirements

Full time participants in the program must be graduates in Geography, Economics, Sociology, Business Administration, Law, population Studies, Statistics or related disciplines.

As of last year, the University began recruiting manpower for the program which will be largely supported by the University, although cooperation is being sought from multilateral agencies.

CSO: 4700/1355

MINISTER NOTES FAILURE OF MINISTRIES TO CUT EXPENDITURES

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 28 May 82 pp 1, 8

[Article by Sam H. Johnson]

[Text] The failure "of some Ministries and Agencies" to adhere to restrictions imposed to curtail expenditure is causing financial inconveniences to government according to Acting Finance Minister John Bestman, in an interview Thursday.

Since the start of the 1981/82 fiscal year, he says, several expenditure-control measures have been instituted by government.

These include the ban imposed last November on the purchasing of new cars, the 50 per cent reduction in gasoline allotment for Ministries and Agencies announced last March, and repairing of government assigned cars personally by officials to whom vehicles are assigned.

Acting Minister Bestman told the NEW LIBERIAN Thursday that these measures and others were introduced in "these times of National financial constraints to save on government expenditures."

But surprisingly he said certain Ministries and Agencies are circumventing the restrictions. No parti-

cular Ministry or Agency was cited by the Acting Minister however.

Minister Bestman making specific reference to disregard for the ban imposed on the purchasing of vehicles quipped: "Every day I see new cars with government plates being driven through the streets."

Asked how these agencies are able to obtain the from the vendors by these agencies despite a circular from the General Services Agency (GSA) warning vendors not to deliver goods until receipt of a signed purchase order from the GSA.

A GSA representative present during the interview said there have been cases when GSA only served to "rubber stamp" purchase order after the cars have already been obtained.

According to Minister Bestman, this attitude on the part of Ministries and Agencies only serve to increase government's already high indebtedness to vendors.

The Acting Finance Minister explained further that his Ministry can only make recommendations but cannot compel adherence to them.

FRG RESPONDS FAVORABLY TO UNGA RESOLUTION ON AID TO NATION

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 28 May 82 pp 1, 6

[Text] NEW YORK: The Federal Republic of Germany has responded favourably to the United Nations General Assembly's Resolution 36/207 of February this year calling for "assistance for the development of Liberia."

Bonn's quick response and willingness to assist Liberia in its development efforts were communicated to the U.N. Secretary-General, Perez De Cuellar through its Permanent Representative in New York.

According to the Liberian Press and Cultural Counselor at the U.N., John Morias, the Federal German Government has already made commitment to Liberia at the tune of 12.5 million Deutch Mark (about \$5.6 million) in the form of financial cooperation, and an additional 11 million Deutch

Mark (about \$5 million) in the form of technical cooperation.

The Federal Republic of Germany would continue its economic cooperation with Liberia on the basis of an inter-governmental negotiation scheduled to take place in October this year.

The funds would be mainly used for forestry, water supply, drainage, rural development and planning projects.

The news of the favourable West German response was communicated to Liberia's permanent delegate to the U.N., Dr. Abeodu Jones by the U.N. Under-Secretary and coordinator of the Special Economic Assistance Programme, Mr. Abdulrahim Farah, who led the special U.N. mission to Liberia in March this year.

CSO: 4700/1355

CHIEF OF STAFF WARNS MILITARY TO REFRAIN FROM POLITICS

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 28 May 82 p 3

[Excerpt]

The Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of Liberia, Lt. General Henry S. Dubar, has warned all military personnel to refrain from politics and concentrate on the security of the country.

He said members of the Armed Forces are not politicians, but security men, according to a Defense Ministry release issued Wednesday.

General Dubar gave the warning following unauthorized press interview which Army Logistics Commander, Col. John G. Nuah, granted a local newspaper recently without any reference to authorities at the Defense Ministry and for releasing unauthorized information.

Col. Nuah has meanwhile been demoted to the rank of Major for a period of three months and will be confined for one month as a result of the unauthorized press interview he granted the

paper.

A Defense Ministry release said the decision was reached at a staff meeting Monday, following an investigation on the interview Col. Nuah granted the Daily Observer newspaper last week, under the headline, "Americans in our Government?"

The Chief of staff was quoted in the release as saying that any military personnel inviting the press for interviews should seek the Defense Ministry's approval, and such discussions must be limited to that military personnel's assignment.

He warned that from now on, any military personnel granting unauthorized press interviews will be court marshalled and punished in accordance with the military code.

CSO: 4700/1355

ROK TRADE MISSION, ECONOMIC DELEGATION TO VISIT

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 24 May 82 pp 1, 8

[Excerpt]

As a result of Head of State C-I-C Dr. Samuel K. Doe's successful state visit to the Republic of Korea, a 20-member Korean Trade Mission is due here June 3 to explore areas in which Liberian businessmen can participate in co-partnership with Korean businessmen.

This will be followed by the visit of a high-powered Korean economic delegation the same month, as announced by the Liberian Leader on May 17 upon his return from the tour of five Afro-Asian-Arab countries.

The Trade Mission, comprising representatives of major Korean manufacturers and traders, will be headed by Mr. Young Gak Shin, according to the Director of Korea Trade Center in Monrovia, Mr. In-Shik Kim.

During their weeklong visit here, members of the mission will tender a reception at the Ducor Hotel on June 7 to enable them establish contact with Li-

berian businessmen and government officials.

From June 7 to 9, the mission will hold special exhibition at the Ducor Hotel, where several Korean manufacturing goods will be displayed.

According to Mr. Kim, items to be displayed include stationery, auto parts, wire rope, building materials, fishing nets and twine, PVC products, textile and garments, sundry goods, tire and tube, glasswares, all kinds of soap and other general items.

Describing Korea as one of the world's fastest growing markets, Mr. Kim said members of the mission will encourage Liberian businessmen to engage in import-export business with their Korean counterparts.

He said it is the wish of the leader of the mission to expand business transactions between Liberia and Korea as a result of Head of State Doe's visit to that country.

CSC: 4700/1355

BRITISH TEAM MAKES RECOMMENDATIONS TO IMPROVE CIVIL SERVICE

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 28 May 82 pp 3, 6

[Article by Lue Hinneh]

[Text]

Two Overseas Service officials from the Royal Institute of Public Administration in London ending a three-week visit here at the weekend as guest of the Civil Service Agency, have stressed the need for the decentralization of the activities of the Civil Service Agency.

The team which toured a number of government Ministries and agencies and some counties to review administrative activities there has recommended also the need for the establishment of regional offices which would help curb the delay in the processing of personnel documents.

Disclosing this Wednesday in an interview with the NEW LIBERIAN, the Deputy Director General of the Liberia Civil Service Agency, Mr. Isaac George who accompanied the team on the tour, said the team also discovered during its assessment that there is a need for the preparation of a manual on general orders which would clearly point out the "do's

and don't's" of the Liberia Civil Service.

Mr. George revealed that as a result of the team's study, it was further discovered that there is a need for training in various aspects of management, supervision, and administration within the Civil Service.

The two officials are Mr. Keith Brown, chief consultant of the British Overseas Unit, and Mr. Phillip Ward, Director, Overseas Service Unit.

The visit of the OSU officials followed one made by the Liberia Civil Service Director General, Mrs. Linnie Kesselly, to Britain last October during which time a formal request for assistance from the British Governments was made. After discussions in London, it was decided that the Royal Institute of Public Administration would commence a training program of officials of the Liberia Civil Service Agency.

It was in this light that the two-man team was sent from the Institute training

and Consultancy Unit to conduct a feasibility study here.

When contacted during a reception tendered in their honor by the staff of the Civil Service Agency over the weekend, Mr. Phillip Ward told the NEW LIBERIAN that as a result of their study, they had recommended to the Overseas Development Association (ODA), which is the controlling agency of

the British Outside Funding Aid, to undertake a 3-year multi-base project to train Liberians in the field of analytical procedure.

Mr. Ward noted that there would also be a continuous program to be funded by the United Kingdom over the next three years, adding, "this will make the Liberia Civil Service more effective to meet government needs."

CSO: 4700/1355

LABOR PARTY AGENTS OPPOSE JAGATSINGH, DAVID

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 23 Apr 82 p 4

[Excerpts] A censure motion demanding the immediate removal of Sir Kher Jagatsingh and James Burty David, respectively secretary general and president of Labour [as published] [LP], was approved yesterday afternoon by 150 party agents who had met on an emergency basis to examine the new political orientation of the party and the attitude of the leaders toward its agents feel that the two party leaders should be removed from their positions because they are responsible for "the middle-class outlook of the party" and for the police repression of which the agents were victims on Tuesday in front of the Hotel du Gouvernement.

Another motion was approved during the same meeting: A deadline which expires today (Friday) was granted to Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam [SSR], leader of the party, to reverse his decision and break the election agreement reached with the RPL [expansion unknown] and the Francois Group and to ally himself instead with Gaetan Duval's PMSD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party]. If SSR remains intransigent, the Labor Agents Association [as published in English] [LAA] which has registered as a political party under the name of "Workers Party [Parti des Travailleurs]," will present candidates in the elections against those of the Francois Group and the RPL. The matter will be settled between now and Monday.

This emergency meeting, we emphasize, took place in the LP general headquarters in an atmosphere of general dissatisfaction. In fact, the room was filled to the rafters. Dissatisfied agents and members of the party's executive committee took part in the gesture of solidarity with the LAA leaders who were, they say, "unjustly clubbed by the Riot Unit" on the orders of party leaders.

Speaking of the circumstances under which the Riot Unit used force on Tuesday, Ramesh Balgobin, one of the prime movers of the LAA, deplored the fact that party leaders had felt it necessary to resort to repression to stifle the voice of the militant base of the party. According to Balgobin, James Burty David, president of the party, did nothing to support their demands

before the executive committee. "Burty David talks a good fight but he is incapable of doing anything," he commented. In his attack on the secretary general of the party, Balgobin said that he would make life difficult for Kher Jagatsingh.

Balgobin is of the opinion that the LP should ally itself with Gaetan Duval's PMSD to win a victory over the MMM [Mauritian Militant Movement]-PSM [Mauritian Social Party] in the upcoming elections. He also said that the LAA is giving SRR time to think and to contract this alliance with the PMSD before the Labour Agents Association jumps the gun on them. If SSR refuses, he will inevitably lead his party to defeat, in the face of the MMM-PSM alliance on the one hand and the Duval-LAA alliance on the other hand. And, if it happens that the LP agents are forced to ally themselves with Duval, no one will be able to accuse them of being traitors, particularly, he said, since Sir Kher Jagatsingh, Sir Satcam Boollell and Sir Rabindra Ghurburrun have already negotiated with the PMSD leader. "So, if we go negotiate with Duval, nobody can say we are traitors," he explained.

As for Guy Narainsamy, another LAA prime mover, the LP's problem resides in the party secretariat. Communication between the rank and file and the staff has been blocked since Sir Kher has assumed these duties. For some time now, the party has been more content with words than action. This view is shared by Yves Grenade, a member of the LP executive committee. Very little has been done to raise the workers' standard of living but there has been "a lot of literature on the subject."

8143

CSO: 4719/910

LAA GIVES LABOR PARTY LEADER RAMGOOLAM AN ULTIMATUM

Port Louis L'EXPRESS in French 23 Apr 82 p 7

[Text] The Labor Agents Association (LAA) has given Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam an ultimatum: If by this morning the prime minister has not changed his allies in the grand alliance, the Labor Party's [LP] rank and file will conclude an alliance with the Mauritian Social Democratic Party [PMSD] on Saturday. That announcement was made by Ramesh Balgobin during a PMSD meeting held yesterday afternoon in Petricher Square. At this meeting, Sir Gaetan Duval announced his candidacy in district No 1 (Port Louis West GRNO) alongside Nanda Kistnen and Noel Langevin.

At 1800 hours, while Kistnen was telling the gathering, estimated to number about 2,000 persons, that there had been contacts between the LP rank and file and the PMSD, Balgobin, with an honor guard and followed by 100 labor agents brandishing posters and banners, arrived in Petricher Square. These agents were returning from an extraordinary general assembly of the LAA.

PMSD partisans received Balgobin with acclamation and fireworks and he was led to the speaker's platform where he was handed the microphone. He also announced that he would be a candidate in district No 20 (Beau Bassin-Petite Riviere).

Sir Gaetan, also acclaimed by the partisans and for whom there were also fireworks, said that if the alliance with the LP leadership has not been formed, the alliance with the labor rank and file will be consummated. "They cannot place an obstacle between Hindu-Creole friendship," he went on to say. According to Sir Gaetan, the political history of the island of Mauritius is at a turning point and the battle of 11 June will take place between the MMM-PSM and the PMSD and its allies because, he added, "Sir Seewoosagur has betrayed the people by forming an alliance with the RPL [expansion unknown] and the Mauritian Group."

Sir Gaetan also announced that the PMSD manifesto would be ready in a few days and that there are a few financial problems connected with its printing because, he said, the PMSD has not been financed by capitalists for a year, since he refused to reform the alliance with the LP.

8143

CSO: 4719

LALIT DE KLAS ROLE IN ELECTIONS EXPLORED

Separation from MMM

Port Louis THE NATION in French 17 Apr 82 p 1

[Text] The Lalit de Klas group which separated from the MMM [Mauritian Militant Movement] on 4 April 1982 because of ideological differences has been officially registered as a political party under the name of "Lalit." The principal leaders--notably Lindsay Collen, Dr Ram Seegobin, Vijay Ram, Rex Stephen and Madhoo Lewchin--have defined the main objectives of the movement which is struggling for the emancipation of the working class in a real socialist society.

To them, the MMM has become the prisoner of its own language and finds itself disarmed in the face of communalism. Worse yet, the new social consensus which it advocates is only a utopia and will play into the hands of the employers.

In the first place, Lindsay Collen emphasized that Lalit de Klas is opposed to the MMM-PSM [Mauritian Socialist Party] alliance and also expressed his reservations regarding the arrangements reached with the Fraternal Organization (OF). At present, the MMM and Lalit de Klas are deeply divided on the ideological level. Although Lalit de Klas has been officially registered as a political party, it will offer no candidates at the general elections to be held Friday, 11 June.

For Rex Stephen, the separation of Lalit de Klas from the MMM is the logical result of the evolution of these two groups at both the ideological and strategic levels. He emphasized that there are appreciable differences as regards the line of action to follow.

Stephen recalled that the MMM, which had limited itself to rejecting communalism, has today become the prisoner of its own language and that everything came to a head when it allied itself with the PSM. As concerns the 1976 program and the new joint program presented by the MMM-PSM, Stephen notes that many socialist measures have been abandoned.

Stephen went on to say that the MMM no longer talks about nationalization or a "working arrangement" with the private sector. "What is new social consensus?" Stephen shouted. "All that is nothing but a utopia which will benefit only the employers." "Any trade union which emphasizes productivity is better for the employers," Stephens concluded.

Support for MMM-PSM Alliance

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 20 Apr 82 p 4

[Text] Lalit de Klas, which was one of many factions inside the MMM but which recently separated from the party for reasons of ideology, confirmed its support for the MMM-PSM alliance yesterday afternoon during a meeting on St. Denis Street, Port Louis, before about 200 persons. The prime movers of this group did in fact ask their followers to vote for the MMM-PSM alliance at the upcoming legislative elections scheduled for 11 June. "It is our duty to make this appeal," they said, "particularly at a time when the forces of the right are regrouping on a broader front to 'block the road to the MMM-PSM alliance.'"

In a long speech, Ram Seegobin, one of the principal driving forces of Lalit de Klas, explained that the workers must regroup under the banner of the MMM-PSM "which unquestionably represents the interests of the workers in these elections." The alliance of the right which combines the LP [Labor Party], RPL [expansions unknown], Francois Group, CAM [Moslem Action Committee] and the turncoats is being called upon to safeguard the interests of different middle-class groups, he said. According to the speaker, negotiations between the different groups with a view to establishing this broad front of the right have been very arduous because of the fact that Sir Seewoosagur Rengoolam "had to bring different interest groups, communities and castes together around the same table." It is obvious that these negotiations did not take place on the basis of any program but on the basis of the representivity of groups, communities and castes.

This alliance of the right will propose nothing concrete to the workers. What is more, it is incapable of advocating any change whatever in the system. And, as usual, Sir Seewoosagur Rengoolam and his allies will talk about the "achievements of independence" once again during this election campaign. However, Lalit de Klas feels that the workers should know that "nothing has been given them on a platter." All that the workers have received is what they have obtained after a long struggle marked by demonstrations, strikes and repression.

Ram Seegobin criticized the government severely for "its poor administration" and "its lack of vision" which have brought the country near chaos. According to the speaker, this government has thus made the country more susceptible

to the devastating effects of the economic crisis and world recession. As for its foreign policy, this government also deserves censure. It has put the country "on its knees before South Africa, the United States and the Common Market."

He then explained the reasons why workers in general and Lalit de Klas sympathizers in particular should not vote for the parties of the pro-Ramgoolam alliance: CAM has no place in Mauritius because of the communalism it advocates; the PMSD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party] has always taken an antiworker line; the Francois Group has always supported either the policy of Ramgoolan or that of Duval; the RPL is putting on the face of technocratic language to mask its real character and its membership in the middle class of the right.

8143

CSO: 4719/923

PMSD LEADER DUVAL PREDICTS DEFEAT OF LABOR PARTY

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 21 Apr 82 pp 1, 5

[Text] "The Labor Party [LP] was already headed for defeat. Now it is headed for a complete rout and collapse." That is the way Sir Gaetan Duval, head of the PMSD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party], described the recent evolution of the political situation in the country. Confident of being able to defeat the LP-RPL [expansion unknown]-GF [Francois Group] alliance in the cities, with the support of the voters and labor agents disappointed in their party, he said that the PMSD will be the "principal challenger of the MMM [Mauritian Militant Movement]-PSM [Mauritian Socialist Party] in the urban districts" and that he himself will be in a position to win the election in Quatre Bornes against Paul Berenger, an election fight he is taking "very seriously," as he put it.

Commenting on yesterday evening's events and on the LP decision to seal its alliance with the RPL and the Francois Group, Sir Gaetan Duval told LE MAURICIEN this morning: "We are witnessing the collapse of the Labor Party which is not only going to be defeated but completely routed." He explained: "This alliance makes the task of the PMSD easier in the cities and that of the MMM easier in the rural districts."

The head of the PMSD also said: "The PMSD is definitely stronger than the LP-RPL-GF alliance in the cities. Our meetings tell us this. What is more, the LP agents who were clubbed last evening were asking for a bit of logic and good sense on the part of SSR [Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam]. Now they are not going to work for the LP and even less for the Francois Group or the RPL. One would be wrong to underestimate them, as they are a product of the LP rank and file and not a minority faction. And these agents will prefer to work for me."

As regards the decision to stand for election in Bell Rose/Quatre Bornes against the MMM secretary general, Sir Gaetan Duval said that there is "a chance for him to defeat Berenger," considering the fact that the LP candidate in this district, Sir Harold Walter, will be able "with difficulty to save his deposit." According to Duval, he feels that is how he will pick up

a lot of sympathy votes. "The LP is so weak that a useful vote in the cities is a vote for the PMSD," he said. Sir Gaetan Duval then stated that he would be "ready to work with the dissidents of the LP who are said not to be opportunists, but rather serious and sound." However, he insisted on bringing out the point that up to now he has had no real contact with the LP dissidents. Finally, Sir Gaetan Duval reiterated that he would be a candidate in the 21 districts.

8143

CSO: 4719/908

RAMGOOLAM JUSTIFIES SIDING WITH FRANCOIS

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 24 Apr 82 pp 1, 17

[Text] During a press conference he had called at the Hotel du Gouvernement, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam [SSR], stated forthrightly the real reason he did not wish to drop the FMSD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party] group headed by Eliezer Francois: "It would have been dishonest on the part of the Labor Party [LP], if not morally bad, to discontinue working with Eliezer Francois and his group. They supported the government when it was at an impasse. If the Francois Group had withdrawn its support for the government last year (when Mr Duval had asked the FMSD to leave the government), the government would have fallen and would have been replaced by the MMM [Mauritian Militant Movement] with whose disastrous policy we are already acquainted."

The leader of the LP affirmed that it was "clear" at the outset that he did not wish to drop the Francois Group.

Taking up next the defense of his other ally, Philippe Blackburn's RPL [expansion unknown], he attempted to answer those who accuse this party and its leader of being representatives of capitalism, particularly the leaders of the sugar industry. SSR maintained that Blackburn "is free to think as he wishes, even if he is employed by the sugar industry" and that his party, the RPL, is not necessarily in the pay of the sugar industry bosses.

Moving on next to an ally he has just lost, the CAM [Moslem Action Committee], he expressed his profound "sorrow" on this subject and asked the traditional electorate of this party to have confidence in him and to support the LP-Francois Group-RPL alliance.

SSR went on to say that this alliance is an "alliance of the liberal left" and not an "alliance of the right," as the press often reports.

Responding next to a question from LE MAURICIEN on the achievements of his party in the last 5 years it has been in power, SSR went through the customary list which includes: subsidies for rice and flour, free education, free health services, price control, the absence of poverty, prosperity, the number of houses built (20,000, not counting the number of building permits issued which have reached 40,000), the preservation of freedoms, including freedom of the press, and so on.

8143

CSO: 4719/908

BRIEFS

MYLL BACKS DUVAL--The Mauritius Young Labor League (MYLL) will definitely go into the elections with Sir Gaetan Duval's PMSD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party]. The leaders of this labor movement will meet Monday with Sir Gaetan Duval to prepare a common slate. This information was obtained from a press statement made yesterday afternoon by B. Sunkur, municipal commissioner of Port Louis and spokesman for the MYLL. He said the movement has decided to disassociate itself from the Labor Party because of the repressive measures taken Tuesday against party agents who were demonstrating in front of the Hotel du Gouvernement. The MYLL feels that the Labor Party by itself will be unable to face up to the MMM [Mauritian Militant Movement]-PSM [Mauritian Socialist Party] alliance, let alone the alliance of the right, LP-RPL [expansion unknown]-Francois Group, according to him. The PMSD by itself will also be unable to face up to the MMM-PSM alliance. [Text] [Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 24 Apr 82 p 7] 8143

CSO: 4719/910

NEED FOR REFORM OF EDUCATION EMPHASIZED

Niamey SAHEL HEBDO in French No 311, 29 Mar 82 p 4

[Article by A. Madougou]

[Excerpts] Niger's schools are ailing, and their deterioration has now reached disturbing proportions; everybody knows it, people have said so, and even shouted it--we have discovered that we are going to have to think about reforming the educational system. But up to now we have been content merely to point this out and make clamorous calls for that educational reform which was supposed to alleviate the ills of Niger's school system. Efforts to get Niger's school system out of its rut have remained quite timid, doubtless because of the immensity of the task and also because of the great importance and seriousness of the decisions that need to be made.

Over the years these ills have grown considerably worse, and they have now reached the disturbing point where it is necessary to "take the bull by the horns" and extirpate the source of the problem. This is why that meeting is being held at Zinder with a large number of participants (more than 250 people), all of whom are concerned about Niger's schools, and God knows that everyone is concerned about them to some degree, because everyone knows that school is the first step toward any other activity. This overriding importance is also the reason for the presence of so large a number of ministers who have described the operations of their ministry and expressed what they expect from the "new look" of Niger's schools.

It has become clear, first of all, that the schools in their present form are quite exclusive and are not responsive to the country's economic needs. They have a very high rate of attrition (in 1981, for example, fewer than 4 [as printed] percent of primary students entered the sixth [form]). What became of the 60 percent who did not go into the sixth, and how many of them, for example, have been able to enter a training school where they could specialize in skilled manual labor?

Moreover, the schools do not encourage people to become manual laborers, so once a certain stage has been reached, the student wants only to be a white-collar worker. This is why it is so terribly difficult to find a Nigerien working in a field like bricklaying, plumbing, or carpentry, no matter how

remunerative it is. It is frightening, for example, to realize that only 10 percent of Nigerien workers are working in pure production.

Moreover, and above all, these schools, which are not responsive to our culture, are expensive, enormously expensive to the state.

It is essential, first of all, to adapt our school system to Nigerien realities, so that it can teach us to know ourselves; next, it must create a solid manpower base equal to the scope of our ambitions for development and economic policy; and finally, it (the school system) must find new sources of financing.

A five-stage reform has been envisaged: a 2-year preschool stage at the start, in which the child would learn the national languages and begin study of the unitary language; a 9-year program of basic education given in the national languages, with an introduction to foreign languages starting in the sixth year; a third stage comprised of 3 years of multipurpose secondary education in the unitary language; then a 12- to 18-month stage that will be devoted to participation in the national development service; and, finally, at least 2 years of higher education. Each educational stage will be officially completed by an examination.

It would also be useful to increase the number of vocational training schools at each level of instruction, particularly after basic education, because in our current system it is just about at this level that we see the highest percentage of dropouts. Even at this stage the students could be channeled into cooperative production units which could each provide a training program where the interested party could learn a productive trade while getting hands-on experience. This would take care of our need for productive manpower.

With respect to financing, it has been proposed that the communities bear the burden of education until students have finished their basic education--in other words, up to the level of third grade in the current system--and that the general operating budget [of the state] would remain responsible for multipurpose secondary education and higher education. But in order to ensure social justice, the state will have to play a balancing role in the distribution of the funds allotted to education, representing 5 percent of the community budget.

The Zinder debate will have to pronounce on questions whose importance is recognized by all. This is why our Nigerien "school doctors" must never lose sight of the fact that the decisions that they have to make will have a heavy impact and will affect the entire nation.

9516
CSO: 4719/822

NATIONAL DEBATE ON EDUCATION HELD IN ZINDER

Niamey SAHEL HEBDO in French No 311, 29 Mar 82 p 5

[Article: "Great Debate on Education Continues at Zinder"]

[Text] The great national debate on education opened Monday, 22 March 1982 at Zinder under the chairmanship of Maj Moumouni Adamou Djermakoye, president of the National Commission To Build the Society of Development. Those in attendance included several members of the government who are directly concerned with problems in education, vocational training and jobs, representatives of all the ministerial departments, territorial administrators, administrators and technicians from the Department of Education, union leaders, representatives of tribal leaders, the Women's Association, the Samariya, and various other socioprofessional associations, as well as younger and older students.

There were three major addresses during the opening session of this important debate: one by the prefect of Zinder Department, Maj Amadou Seyni Maiga, who welcomed the participants and expressed his pleasure at the holding of such a meeting in his departmental capital; one by Maj Moumouni Djermakoye Adamou, who is chairing the debate, and finally one by the minister of national education, Maj Youssoufa Maiga.

Three committees have been created to deal with financial and planning issues and with problems of orientation, adaptation, organization and training.

The committee work, which began 24 March 1982, was completed last Saturday [27 March] as scheduled.

It should also be noted that the participants heard remarks by the president of the National Commission for National Reform and Education Planning, Maj Youssoufa Maiga, and the state secretary for national education, Mr Modieli Amadou, as well as several other ministers participating in this great debate. The closing session of the great debate is scheduled for 31 March 1982.

9516

CSO: 4719/822

SENEGAL

BRIEFS

SAUDI AID--Dakar, 3 Jun (AFP)--Saudi Arabia has granted Senegal the sum of 50.17 billion CFA for the implementation of agricultural, road, water and housing projects, the Senegalese press announced today. [Excerpt] [AB041300 Paris AFP in French 1336 GMT 3 Jun 82 AB]

CSO: 4719/1089

ASPECTS OF DEBATE ON EXECUTIVE PRESIDENCY VIEWED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 23 May 82 p 39

[Article by Professor Kenneth Grundy, First Bradlow Fellow of the SA Institute of International Affairs]

[Text]

ALL this talk about Bonapartist and Gaullist solutions for South Africa growing out of the President's Council's proposals for an Executive President seems to ignore one central feature of the Gaullist model and to over-emphasise another.

Most commentators focus on the strongman aspects of the proposals — his seven-year term, his ability to name a Prime Minister and Cabinet, his authority to dismiss Parliament with a doff of his tin hat.

These features seem reason enough to justify the proposals for some, but for the Conservative/BNP right, which sees Mr P W Botha already staking out his claim for the new office, reason enough for rejecting them.

Once entrenched in the Presidency, the fox will devour the chicks.

Fortunately, there is another dimension to De Gaulle's leadership.

De Gaulle was not only a strong leader, the present theme of the chorus.

He was also a courageous one — all the more so, because, by being iron-hard, he managed to convince his own conservative constituency that the best kind of conservatism is a variety of liberalism.

Now I realise that liberalism is a tainted term in South African politics, as it is in America these days.

Its tortured history here would seem to be enough to discredit the term from all directions.

Would an Executive President with the courage and skill to lead his constituents in a direction they might otherwise reject, polarise his people even more?

Not if they had faith in him as a person and if they appreciated the need for significant restructuring of the region and the society.

Strength plus the courage to break new ground. One without the other is inadequate.

But what De Gaulle did achieve, and this seems to have been overlooked in all the hoopla, is to create a government that accomplished the unpopular and the unexpected.

In the process, De Gaulle made the French love him.

He persuaded the centre and the right, through political fortitude and savvy, that to renew the grandeur of France, France must be willing to sacrifice her debilitating imperial pretensions.

Immediately, by withdrawing completely from Algeria, France was able to keep the social fabric of France intact.

At that point, and only at that point, could France begin to entertain ideas of a Commonwealth à la Française.

The very symbol of French grandeur, Algeria, became the vehicle for De Gaulle's leadership.

Has France suffered as a consequence? Not to my reckoning.

Is this what those who call

for a Gaullist solution to South Africa's malaise have in mind?

I have my doubts. To them, strength is not, and in fact cannot in any circumstances be equated with flexibility or retreat.

Yet this may be just what South Africa needs.

It must find a way to withdraw from a costly and increasingly unpopular war in Namibia.

It must change fundamentally a policy of racial separation that throttles real economic expansion international acceptance and individual peace of mind.

In an otherwise fine contribution to the debate, Professor Herman Giliomee has quoted de Tocqueville on the split in 19th century French society.

"Those who possessed nothing and were united in a common greed, and those who possessed something and were united in a common fear," was the way he put it.

But is this really the parallel for contemporary South Africa?

In this country, few peoples are united. Even so, one might just as easily maintain that "those who possess noth-

ing are united in (or better, share a common) fear, and those who possess something are united in greed."

If this country is to make the most of a Gaullist option, those united in greed (in the sense that they want to conserve what they have) must be able to convince those united in fear that they fully intend to use their exclusive power to do the very things that they have been united in resisting in the past.

In other words, they must transcend their history in order to preserve it.

Impossible? Not necessarily, for magnanimity and courage are qualities in ample supply in this society.

Now they must be identified, encouraged and reinforced.

De Gaulle oui; Louis Bonaparte, non!

Once having gone beyond the currently popular debate about an Executive Presidency, this policy must address itself to the real issue lurking in the background — racial power.

Only if the furor over a strong Presidency leads directly into this question, will the nation be moving towards a real solution.

LEADING CONTENDERS FOR LEADERSHIP PROFILED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 18 May 82 p 21

[Article by Peter Sullivan: "Hunt for a Leader...Men of Ambition Are Jockeying for Position"]

[Text]

With a new method of governing South Africa in the offing, there will be new positions of power. Political Correspondent PETER SULLIVAN looks at the likely candidates.

Personalities are the pleasant part of politics. Unlike the complex issues involved, the people in the middle grab the imagination of us all.

Parliament is filled with ambitions realised and imagined. Now that a new way of governing the country is in the offing, these ambitions are pushing their way to the fore as new jobs with wide new vistas are created.

We need an executive President. Who will be the first?

We need a new Premier. Who will be the first?

And if these two top spots are filled, it means a jump up the ranks for almost every parliamentarian — from the backbencher who moves two spaces, to the frontbencher who sees a gap open up in the Cabinet.

If the new Cabinet, all 20 of them, are to be non-parliamentarians as proposed, a

20-rung jump awaits those at the bottom of the ladder.

But it is the men at the top who fascinate, not those in the wings.

The big question is whether Mr P W Botha will stay on to take the country along the reformist path he has laid out. Nobody knows for certain, probably not even Mr Botha at this stage.

If he does, he will still have to appoint a new Premier. If he does not, two top spots fall vacant.

Among the contenders — for the metaphor runs easily to a title-fight or horse race — are Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, Mr Fanie Botha, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Mr F W de Klerk, Mr Pik Botha, even General Magnus Malan, and Mr Chris Heunis.

There is talk of a coloured Premier being appointed, with Professor Dick van der Ross as an outside possibility.

Mr Schlebusch, Vice-State President and chairman of the report-producing President's Council, is undoubtedly in the running for the presidency.

Known not quite affectionately as "klop-oog" (stone eye), he is a slow and ponderous speaker whose pronouncements carry weight with most MPs.

He is a bulky man, whose eyes are magnified by glasses, giving

Mr F W de Klerk . . . gives his listeners a feeling that he does not really believe all he is saying.

him a stony stare which never wavers until his point is made. Luckily, the point is often leavened by wit — a subtle yet sharp wit relying usually on a play of words or obscure legality.

He was disliked in liberal circles for the first Schlebusch Com-



Mr. Alwyn Schlebusch
... dubbed "stone eyes."



Mr Chris Heunis ...
one-man think-tank.



Mr F W de Klerk ...
secret feeling.



Dr Gerrit Viljoen ...
high influence.

mission — labelled an inquisition — into Nussas and other affected organisations.

He became a respected Speaker of the House of Assembly, then a senior Cabinet Minister entrusted with the second Schlebusch Commission — this time into a new Constitution.

His chairmanship of this was praised by all, and he was then elevated to his present position outside the Cabinet.

Only a year younger than Mr P W Botha, he was born at Lady Grey, moving to the Free State shortly after his birth and later becoming Free State National Party leader.

Considered a fair and just man, he has masked his ambitions well, but shot to prominence when he came out against Dr Connie Mulder before the close battle for the Prime Ministership had been finally fought between Dr Mulder and Mr Botha.

Next in line is the relatively young National Party Transvaal leader, Mr de Klerk.

Bald yet handsome, his greatest speaking asset is the almost imperceptible smile which plays around his lips while he holds forth, giving his listeners a secret feeling that he does not really believe all he is saying.

His moment of triumph was when he wrested the Transvaal head committee from Dr Andries Treurnicht by dint of good generalship, to be elected immediately the new leader, unopposed, with acclamation.

If he does not get the presidency, he is undoubtedly a prime contender for the Premiership.

He did a BA LIB at Potchefstroom University and was appointed



Mr P W Botha ... the
reformist path.



Mr Pik Botha ... star
waning.



Mr Fanie Botha ...
charisma missing.



General Magnus Malan
... chances remote.

professor of law there in 1972, but did not take up the post because he was elected MP for Vereeniging.

Married with three children, his hobby is politics and more politics.

Mr de Klerk's English is almost as good

Mr Pik Botha is highly popular with the man in the street, but many colleagues distrust him over his premature bid for power.

as his Afrikaans, and any hesitancy he shows is instantly forgiven when the little smile plays its game.

Another contender for the Premiership is Mr Heunis, the Minister of Internal Affairs, and commonly called the National Party's one-man think-tank.

His greatest drawback is his obvious ambition, but this is countered by his being Mr Botha's favourite. An excellent public speaker (even if he does tend to go on a bit), he is an architect of the proposals from the President's Council.

It is said that nothing comes from the Prime Minister without his approval, and unkind people have called him Mr Botha's iron-lung, without which Mr Botha would stop breathing any intellectual air.

But his naked ambition leaves Transvaal MPs cold, and Cape MPs shrug their

shoulders and ask "Who else?" when one wonders aloud who the next Cape leader will be.

If Mr Botha takes the presidency, he may appoint Mr Heunis Premier, but this would lead to deep resentment from the Transvaal faction.

A probable compromise is Mr de Klerk as President, with Mr Heunis his appointed Premier.

After that, it's anybody's guess.

But when there's a shift at the top, some more shifting must take place just under the top — and indeed all the way down.

In a new constitutional set-up, the leader of the Legislative Assembly will play an added role, rather like America's Leader of the House, who bargains with the President about Bills being passed.

South Africa's Leader of the House is Mr Fanie Botha, the most senior Minister after Mr P W Botha.

He was an early withdrawal from the last Prime Ministership election, and was beaten by Dr Treurnicht in a bid for the Transvaal leadership.

He did, however, bear the brunt of the battle against Dr Treurnicht in getting reform labour legislation passed, and while he may be missed in the search for the two top men, he will be placed in some senior position

— possibly the one Mr Schlebusch vacates.

Born in 1922 in Lusaka, he has a BA and B Comm from Stellenbosch, plus many years

Mr Chris Heunis is the Prime Minister's favourite, but his greatest drawback is his obvious ambition.

in politics to his credit. Respected he is, but that magic charisma that selects the top men is sadly missing.

Should it be given to the vox populi to decide, Mr Pik Botha would win hands down — if only whites vote.

Not that he is verkrampt, far from it, but he has the charisma which Mr Fanie Botha lacks. As Minister of Foreign Affairs, he has the platform and the exposure on the dreaded "box" to earn public support.

However, his star has been waning for some time, and he is distrusted by his colleagues for making a premature bid for the Prime Ministership in 1978 and ignominiously gaining only 22 votes.

He lived in Washington for years, and represented South Africa at the World Court in The Hague, having a BA, LLB from Pretoria University.

One common criticism which depicts the convoluted politics of Parliament precisely is that Mr Pik Botha no longer lunches in the

common dining room and is seldom seen to take coffee with ordinary members.

Little points like this build up resentment, and MPs resolve privately never to allocate their votes to the high and mighty. But there's always that vox populi in the background.

Then there is General Magnus Malan. His chances can be dismissed in a word — remote.

That leaves Dr Gerrit Viljoen. His weak point is experience, his strength intelligence.

Despite common belief, most Cabinet Ministers are intelligent, but Dr Viljoen is a little more so.

Admirable in debate, pleasant on a personal level, Dr Viljoen is a one-time Broederbond chief, a job he wrested from Dr Treurnicht.

When Dr Viljoen entered the Cabinet, he was seen as the alternative to Dr Treurnicht as a Transvaal leader, and his influence still rides high in the party caucus and with the Prime Minister.

His future is assured, but perhaps a little later.

He is presently Minister of National Education.

Those then are the prime contenders. Their climb up the mythical ladder will open the lower rungs and allow some into the Cabinet — except, of course, room must be made for coloured and Indian Ministers. But that's another story.

MOTLANA PROPOSES MANDELA BE ELECTED WITS CHANCELLOR

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 3 Jun 82 p 8

[Text]

THE University of the Witwatersrand could improve its image virtually overnight by electing Nelson Mandela as its chancellor, the chairman of Soweto's Committee of Ten, Dr Ntatho Motlana, said yesterday.

Addressing about 700 students at the university, Dr Motlana said the election of lifelong political prisoner Mandela would be to the "incalculable credit" of the university and would give it international recognition.

Speaking in his capacity as both friend of and family doctor to the African National Congress leader, Dr Motlana said the other two candidates for the post of chancellor — Mrs Helen Suzman MP and Mr Mike Rohsholt — were also worthy choices.

"I accept that both these candidates would find it easier to raise

money for the university and that the election of Nelson Mandela as chancellor would be a gesture more than anything else.

"But the elevation of such a distinguished man to this post can only increase the status of the university. Its recognition internationally would reach great heights.

Dr Motlana told the students — who earlier gave Black Power salutes, chanted "Amandla" and applauded for two minutes in honour of political prisoner Walter Sisulu's 70th birthday — that Mandela's candidature should be supported by all.

His call was met with loud applause, and more chants of "Amandla". The meeting ended with the singing of N'kosikele Africa (God Bless Africa).

CSO: 4700/1358

STATE BODY TO OVERSEE MEDIA

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Jun 82 pp 5, 6

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. — A new State-regulated body to discipline the media is envisaged in the Registration of Newspapers Amendment Bill published yesterday, Sapa reports.

The Bill was read a first time in the House of Assembly on Tuesday after the Progressive Federal Party had invoked the strongest form of censure by refusing to support the motion for its first reading.

In terms of the Bill all newspapers and publications would be registered members of the proposed controlling body. Any newspaper or publication which failed to subject itself for disciplinary purposes to its control would be deregistered by proclamation and could only gain reregistration with the approval of the Minister of Internal Affairs.

In terms of the Bill any newspaper published by a publisher who was not the holder of a "prescribed certificate" issued by a body "striv-

ing for the attainment and maintenance of the highest possible standards by persons disseminating news, and which is recognised by regulation" would be subject to the control of such a body for disciplinary purposes.

Provision is also made for any "book, periodical, pamphlet, poster or other printed matter, except a poster issued as an advertisement of a newspaper", to be subject to the same controls.

In terms of the Bill the SABC could also be subject to the provisions.

Provision is made for the introduction of different provisions at different times.

In terms of present legislation, newspapers which are members of the Newspaper Press Union are exempt from the provisions of the Publications Act. The amending Bill would bring all media into the ambit of one body by regulation and anyone

not prepared to subject himself to its disciplinary control could be deregistered by proclamation, with the Minister having the final word as to its reregistration.

The Newspaper Press Union and the Conference of Editors have, since September last year, been voluntarily working on the formulation of a new, more comprehensive controlling body to replace the present Press Council.

Since March this year they have met the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, on three occasions to submit their proposals.

It is understood that they and Mr Heunis differ on the issue in that Mr Heunis is not prepared to accept anything other than control by legislation, whereas the media are not prepared to adjudicate on media which have not voluntarily subjected themselves to control.

Jaap Theron reports that it is expected that the Bill will be launched through all its stages before Parliament adjourns on Friday.

Press in Uproar Over Planned Curbs

MEDIA throughout South Africa commented on the Newspapers Amendment Bill introduced today in the House of Assembly.

The Star said: "Some of the chinaware is destroyed, much is damaged, but until this week there still remained some precious pieces of porcelain."

"Now Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Internal Affairs, appears to be blundering in to destroy most of what is left of freedom of expression in this country. It is a tragedy for many reasons."

"Firstly, further legislation is entirely unnecessary. It is already possible to close down newspapers,

as the World was closed down, without even giving reasons."

"The restriction and regulations covering the Press are already vast, far greater than those affecting politicians or the man in the street."

"Secondly, there was every reason to believe that all the excess of the Steyn Commission could be avoided," the Star said.

"Even those who sought further censorship or external control of the Press seemed reluctant to go as far as the Steyn Commission proposed."

"Perhaps those excesses will be avoided, but if more statutes are introduced, free speech is further damaged anyway."

The vexed problem of

disciplining any excesses within the Press was already being attended to by the newspapers and newspapermen themselves, the Star said.

Die Vaderland said the Steyn Commission had made drastic recommendations. The Government had said it had an open mind on the issue and that it first wanted to talk to those involved, which it had done during the past months.

The positive side was that nothing had come of the strong Steyn proposals, if one looked at the legislation given notice of.

Nothing was left of a register of journalists, professionalising and a

statutory council and all democratic-minded people would be very thankful for that.

"That the Minister of Internal Affairs nevertheless comes with legislation, has to be lamented," Die Vaderland's editorial said.

The Cape Argus said the Progressive Federal Party did well to oppose the Bill in Parliament without even seeing the contents of the measure.

"In the atmosphere of Government impatience with the Press — an attitude of long standing — it requires no great prophetic insight to fear any Government intervention in Press matters," it said. — Sapa

Opposition Up in Arms

STRONG reservations were expressed in Opposition political circles in Cape Town yesterday about the statutory restrictions.

The Progressive Federal Party spokesman on Press affairs, Mr Dave Dalling, said it was a disgrace that the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, who introduced the Bill, "tried to sneak this horrendous measure through Parliament during the last three days of this session".

He said the PFP opposed the first reading even before it was aware of the contents because it would curb the freedom of the Press. "The Bill has proved that our suspicions were well founded," he added.

"If the PFP can do anything about it, it will see that it gets pushed right off the order paper," Mr Dalling stressed.

In National Party circles it is believed that the Bill is mainly aimed at Herstigte Nasionale Party and Conservative Party mouthpieces, respectively Die Afrikaaner and Die Patriot, but The Citizen and certain other papers which are not members of the Newspaper Press Union, and for that reason do not fall under the jurisdiction of the Press Council, will also be affected.

Mr Peter McLean, president of the NPU, said the NPU was at present revising the Press Council rules, procedure and composition.

The idea was to allow the Press to improve on their self-regulation measures on their own steam and without need of statutory measures.

The South African Society of Journalists yesterday asked for an urgent meeting with Mr Heunis.

The Cape Times said in an editorial yesterday it was disturbing to note that Mr Heunis was pursuing a course of passing legislation, instead of accepting the "voluntary" Press Council, which itself was from time to time improving its rules.

The newspaper said: "Mr Heunis should take note that no amount of soothing talk, or airing of special problems that he considers might make this step necessary, can obscure the essential point that in free societies Press discipline must be totally voluntary, totally divorced from statute. For the other way is the road to tyranny."

HOW depressing. Here we are in the last week of the Parliamentary session and the Government springs on the Assembly a new Press Bill.

It is as if it deliberately wants to put the measure through in the shortest possible time with the least possible opportunity for the Assembly, the Press and the public to consider it.

What the Newspaper Amendment Bill envisages is a new State-regulated body to discipline the media.

All newspapers and publications will be registered members of the proposed controlling body.

Any newspaper which fails to subject itself for disciplinary purposes to its control will be deregistered by proclamation and can only gain reregistration with the approval of the Minister of Internal Affairs.

The Newspaper Press Union and the Conference of Editors have since September last year been voluntarily working on the formulation of a new, more comprehensive controlling body to replace the present Press Council.

The difference

Mr Heunis, the Minister of Internal Affairs, is apparently not prepared to accept anything other than control by legislation, whereas the media are not prepared to adjudicate on newspapers which have not voluntarily subjected themselves to control.

It will be argued that as the new measure seeks to bring under control newspapers which are not members of the Newspaper Press Union, the NPU should welcome the proposed legislation.

After all, why shouldn't every publication be subjected to discipline?

For example, as *The Citizen* is not a member of the NPU, does not come under jurisdiction of the Press Council, and falls under the Publications Act which imposes no penalties, it would be only right, and proper that it should be forced to accept the jurisdiction of the new controlling body.

Or so it would be argued.

But *The Citizen* is not the reason why this new measure is being introduced. We know from the Steyn Commission and from various on-going official studies of the Press that *The Citizen* is regarded as a very unbiased and balanced newspaper. The Government does not need a State-regulated body to control *The Citizen*, since *The Citizen* controls itself so well. The measure is not even aimed at the *Herstigte Nasionale Party's* newspaper, the *Afrikaner*, or the Conservative Party's newspaper, the *Patriot*, as some people think.

First step

It is, as the Southern African Society of Journalists says, a subtle first step towards statutory control of the Press.

You can see how it works: introduce a law to ensure that newspapers are disciplined. Deregister newspapers which do not submit themselves to such discipline. Recognise the controlling body by regulation, and allow for the introduction of different provisions at different times.

Once the Government has enforced discipline in this way, it will broaden its demands on the controlling body and the newspaper industry.

Thus, instead of the media controlling themselves, they will be increasingly controlled by Government statute.

The days of Press freedom are slowly but surely coming to an end.

Perhaps, having given the media the threat of a new measure, the Government will decide not to implement it until further discussion.

But alas, even that will not be the end of the matter, for the newspaper industry tends to run scared when the Government introduces a Press measure. For often it falls over backwards to ensure there is a compromise.

This time, it should not be under any illusion about either the Government's intentions or what it requires of the industry.

It wants the Press curbed. And this new Bill is part of the process.

BOTHA-SLABBERT VIEWS OF CHANGE REPORTED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Jun 82 p 4

[From the "Parliament" page]

[Text]

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The creation of the President's Council had given people of all population groups an opportunity to prove that one could get somewhere through consultation, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

Speaking in the third reading debate on the Appropriation Bill, he said the council had also succeeded in creating a calmer atmosphere among the various peoples.

Right at the outset, Mr Botha said, he had stated that the Government would not be bound to accept all the recommendations of the Council, and that the Council would not be bound to support everything the Government wanted.

The creation of a national convention, as envisaged by the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, would not take place.

"He cannot establish it, and he will not."

Important consultations were taking place daily between the South African Government and Black leaders who had been granted the right of self-determination.

He asked why Dr Slabbert tried to give the world the impression that change could take place overnight in South Africa "when he knows it can't."

Dr Slabbert should get up and say that he rejected Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's standpoint of one man, one vote.

The Government was not prepared even to discuss it, but Dr Slabbert was prepared to do this in a national convention with Chief Buthelezi.

"He is playing a dangerous game."

INEFFECTIVE and peaceful constitutional development could come about in South Africa only if negotiation and consultation took place among all population groups, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederick van Zyl Stubbart, said yesterday.

In the debate on the third reading of the Budget, he said the Progressive Federal Party believed it was dangerous and shortsighted to exclude Blacks from negotiations on constitutional reform and to entrench White domination in any constitutional plan which tried to give the impression of power sharing.

Half-baked reform would lead to growth in the Rightwing forces and create greater polarisation and conflict potential.

Dr Stubbart said the parliamentary session had been dominated by the split in the National Party and the constitutional debate and the two could not be seen in isolation.

Two choices

The split posed two choices for the Government:

• Intense clinging to the status quo as desired by the Conservative Party or

• The launching of a systematic process towards a new dispensation which would require the support of the majority of a unitary South Africa, as well as the official Opposition.

Dr Stubbart said the remainder of the session would be dominated by the debate on the Budget.

He said the Government had to choose between two paths. "We do this, however, other population groups in the reform process,

we would be confronted by the lack of tenability of this policy of apartheid or separate development."

The Government has two options, Dr Stubbart said. "It is impossible to appease the growing and unrelenting demand for a new system of reform."

If the Government tries to do both it will destroy not only itself but the possibility of peaceful change."

Peace for all

Dr Stubbart appealed to the Prime Minister to be courageous and make it clear that he envisaged a process of change which held out the possibility of peace for all groups in a system to which all could be loyal.

Only then will we have the ultimate assurance that the new dispensation will be able to be implemented. There is no guarantee other than the involvement and support of the majority of the people.

If Whites and Blacks see that the process is not contributing to freedom and more effective national participation, satisfaction and progress and there will be greater polarisation.

Dr Stubbart said the Government must choose between two paths. "It is impossible to appease the growing and unrelenting demand for a new system of reform."

If the Government tries to do both it will destroy not only itself but the possibility of peaceful change."

The PFF did not want to act negatively by making over-hasty judgments or final decisions

and the Government needed as much time as possible to negotiate with other groups to test the acceptability of its proposals.

The PFF would try to play a constructively critical role throughout the various stages of the process.

Whatever proposals the Government finally put before Parliament would be judged by the PFF against whether they would increase or decrease polarisation between White and Black contribute to the abolition of discrimination and promote full citizenship for all South Africans, White, Black or Brown.

The question of citizenship was non-negotiable and any attempt to implement a new dispensation at the cost of citizenship would build conflict into the constitution.

Dr Stubbart said it was paradoxical that one President's Council committee could recommend power sharing at metropolitan level and another, the retention of the Group Areas Act. This would ultimately make the meaningful involvement of Coloureds and Indians in the constitutional process untenable.

Dr Stubbart said that in view of the Government's proposals for reform appearing to be closer to the 1977 proposals of the National Party than to the recommendations of the President's Council, the council seemed to be an expensive luxury.

Had the council been an autonomous body it would have been able to accept his proposal that it consult the Buthelezi Commission rather than rejecting it for purely

technical reasons without considering its merits.

During the current session of Parliament security legislation had been passed which, while containing certain improvements, undermined the rule of law and was thus a built-in threat to long term security.

'Ethnic Leaders Not in PC Are Consulted'

THE Government was consulting with the leaders of population groups not represented in the President's Council on constitutional reform, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

He repeated his appeal to the public to remain calm and to give the Government time to complete its consultations, saying that his party's congresses were most important in this process.

He also confirmed that no final proposals for constitutional change could be implemented before they had been dealt with by the House of Assembly.

"We will also submit them to the Constitutional Committee of this House," he said.

"I do not think that there can be a more reasonable attitude in this connection, and I hope the country will remain calm and allow the Government to meet its obligations (to consult) in this regard."

Mr Botha was replying in the third reading debate on the Budget to

a question when Whites would be consulted on the proposals of the President's Council.

"The President's Council itself is the first step for consultation between the White, Coloured and Indian people," he said.

"The Government is now consulting with the leaders of those popula-

tion groups that have not yet been consulted."

"After that we still have an obligation towards the (National party's executives and to go to the party congresses.

"The congresses will influence the Government's action to a great extent. Consulting the party congresses is the most important," Mr Bo-

tha said.

Any final proposals then had to come before Parliament for discussion and decision.

"But we also have a Constitutional Committee in this Assembly and any final proposals will not only serve before this house, but also before that committee," Mr Botha said.

SUZMAN'S VIEW OF SECURITY LEGISLATION REPORTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 23 May 82 p 38

[Article by Mrs Helen Suzman: "Nothing Is Temporary About This Security Bill"]

[Text]

THE first thing to note is that, although the Minister has said that it is the Government's desire not to retain these measures longer than necessary, the Bill has no provision for annual renewal by Parliament.

It is to become, like the Acts it incorporates, a permanent part of the law.

Unlike other countries which had to introduce emergency legislation, there is nothing temporary about the Internal Security Bill.

Since the Rabie Report was published, I have studied a number of documents and articles commenting on its contents and recommendations.

Nothing I have read has, in any way, altered my first impression that the report, which relied heavily on police evidence and which evaded a number of major issues, is most disappointing.

Disappointment

Consequently, the Bill which emanates from it is a sad disappointment to those of us who hoped it would set South Africa back on the path to the Rule of Law.

In an excellent lecture, delivered about three years ago to the Faculty of Law at the Rand Afrikaans University, Advocate D P de Villiers said that incisive action was required "to devise a system which will contain the necessary checks and balances to serve as far as possible the fundamental rights and the

sense of justice of the community on the one hand, together with the need for effectively controlling terrorism and sabotage on the other".

That, I believe, should have been the short-term aim of the legislation proposed and presented by the Rabie Commission.

In the long term, of course, as the Rabie Commission itself admits, security legislation by itself can be no guarantee of the maintenance of law and order.

That can be guaranteed only if a country is governed with the consent of the majority of the people.

Vast battery

In South Africa that would mean that we would have to do away with the vast battery of laws that discriminate on the basis of colour, that cause bitterness and hostility and that are, in themselves, at the root of disorder in this country.

It is true that the terms of reference of the Rabie Commission excluded consideration of these long term factors.

But one surely could have hoped that legislation introduced on the recommendations of a commission whose terms of reference did include an examination of the efficacy of our security laws would come up with a Bill which would have made some reference to the obvious failure of the existing security laws in combating terrorism, sabotage and violence.

Tougher

The Minister of Law and Order has himself admitted that ever tougher and more repressive security laws embodying powers of detention without trial have not succeeded in reducing the incidence of terrorism, sabotage and violence.

Indeed, on the contrary, such incidence has increased steadily.

Apart from efficacy, one of the other terms of reference of the Rabie Commission was to consider the "fairness" of our existing legislation.

To my astonishment, however, the commission failed to examine in depth the two factors that dominate the lives of detainees under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act: indefinite solitary confinement and the methods of interrogation used by the security police.

This omission was:

- despite the deaths in detention;
- despite the wide-spread belief that inhuman and degrading techniques of interrogation are used on detainees;
- and despite the fact that there is weighty evidence of the devastating effect of solitary confinement for long periods.

For this reason, the Bill retains all the most objectionable sections of our existing security legislation — far removed indeed from the checks and balances suggested by Advocate de Villiers.

Clause 29 in no way differs materially from Section 6 of the Terrorism Act and Clause 31 in no way differs materially from Section 12B of the Internal Security Act.

And I am singularly unimpressed by the "safeguards" provided.

A detainee must be visited "as frequently as possible" in private by an Inspector of Detainees — and the inspector must report in writing to the Minister after each visit.

If he suspects an offence has been committed against the detainee, he must report to the Attorney General.

Inspectors have been on the go since Steve Biko's death.

Interprets

During 1979 and 1980, they paid over 1 000 visits and received only seven complaints. From February 1980 to December 1981, they paid 1 655 visits and received only 28 complaints.

The Minister interprets this as indicating there were hardly any grounds for complaint.

There is another interpretation: that the detainees were too scared to complain — for they remain in the hands of those they complain about.

We may get different statistics now that the visits must be in private.

But, as the Association of Law Societies points out, inspectors are nominees of the Minister and in no sense can they be described as independent ombudsmen.

And magistrates and district surgeons are also within the system.

It is true that sub-Clause 3(a) now makes the Minister personally responsible for detention exceeding one month.

I trust he will take this responsibility very seriously. He is accountable personally for any future disasters to people held in detention.

The Board of Review is also new for some detainees and, if the Minister does not accept the recommendations

of the board or the advisory committee, the Chief Justice may exercise certain powers.

These are, however, considerably limited by the legal grounds set out: if the Minister exceeded his authority, if he acted in good faith, or if he based his decisions on considerations not related to the maintenance of the safety of the State or of law and order.

There is no provision for referral to the Chief Justice for restricted persons, banned organisations or publications, or for persons held under the preventive detention clause (28), which replaces Section 10(1)(a) of the Internal Security Act.

Hapless

In the case of the hapless Clause 29 detainees, the Chief Justice does not come into the picture at all.

To sum up:

- This Bill perpetuates an undeclared state of emergency in South Africa;

- Like the Terrorism Act and other draconian measures, it is to be a permanent feature of our law;

- There is the same exclusion of the intervention of the courts under any circumstances for Section 29, and appeal to the court is on a male fide basis in other cases;

- There is no limitation on the period during which a person may be detained and held in solitary confinement;

- There is no provision for a code of conduct under which interrogations can take place — a most serious omission for on interrogation depends the release of a detainee, whether he will be charged, or whether he will be called as a witness.

To my mind Clause 29 is the most important clause in the Bill.

It certainly embodies all the powers that have, for 15 years, caused the most deaths, the greatest anxiety and, I may add, have done the most harm to South Africa's standing in the democratic community of nations.

PROBLEMS WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENTS FORESEEN

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 Jun 82 p 8

[Text]

THE "broad principles" outlined by the President's Council report would result in many problems for local governments, Dr Jan Hattingh, president of the Institute of Town Clerks of Southern Africa said yesterday.

He was speaking at the opening of the institute's annual conference held in Sandton.

While it was impossible to discuss the details of the President's Council recommendations because the report had given no details, some of the points raised needed to be studied more closely, he said.

"The very composition of local governments which includes a lot more people and organisations than local officials or town councillors, gives them an inbred potential for conflict.

"Bringing ethnicity into local government, as recommended by the President's Council, could greatly increase this potential," he said.

But, he added, the conflict need not only be along racial lines, but between different local authorities as well.

Mr Hattingh said he rejected the proposal of the formation of metropolitan governments — "although I am not against service committees" — as these would cost money.

"They will be a financial burden on local authorities and the tax payer," he said.

He also could not accept the proposal that the metropolitan governments would deal with so-called "hard" services while the local authorities would deal only with "soft" services.

"This move would reduce the status of the local authority and instead of there being a devolution of power to the local authorities, power would be centralised in the metropolitan bodies."

Nominated

Mr Hattingh also felt that the introduction of metropolitan bodies whose members would be nominated by the local authorities, was in conflict with the principle of "representative" government.

"What if a decision taken by the metropolitan body is in conflict to the wishes of the local authority? To whom is that body responsible — the local authority, the voter or no one?" he asked.

The town clerk of Benoni, Mr N Botha stressed that it should never be forgotten that local governments were the "contact point" between the voters and higher authorities.

Warned

Referring to the President's Council's proposal for multi-racial metropolitan governments, Mr Botha warned that Black, Coloured and Asian local authorities could make "horrific demands" for money to improve the services to their areas.

1982 4/11/1982

BRITISH DENY SUPPLYING ARMS TO SWAPO, ANC

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by Jaap Theron]

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. — The British Government late yesterday officially denied that it was supplying South Africa's enemies — Swapo and the banned African National Congress — with arms of war.

After questions posed by The Citizen to the British Ambassador in South Africa two days ago, a British Embassy spokesman yesterday said his Government denied that it was supplying any arms to Swapo or the ANC.

The full text of the British reply to the controversial issue reads:

"In response to the inquiry of The Citizen and given the nature of the substantial private international arms trade, it is possible that some weapons bearing British markings may through the years have found its way into the hands of organisations such as the banned South African ANC and Swapo.

"It is, however, out of the question that the British Government would sell or allow the supply of arms

of war to Swapo or the banned SA ANC.

"The strictest precautions are taken with regard to the end use of British arms exports."

This official response by the British Government through its Embassy in Cape Town came after strong rumours in the local Press this week that the Republic would officially approach the British Government for an assurance that it was not selling arms to South Africa's enemies during the present hostilities in South West Africa and elsewhere on South Africa's borders, as well as for sabotage by ANC terrorists within South Africa.

It was pointed out by South African sources that a number of local civilians, as well as South African soldiers had been killed in recent years in the SWA operational area by British-made land mines.

Such land mines had also been found in Swapo arms caches and with captured Swapo terrorists.

OPPOSITION TO MANDELA'S RELEASE VOICED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 Jun 92 p 6

[Article by Aida Parker: "Mandela--The Facts Under the Whitewash"]

[Text]

MEMORIES fade. Events pile on events so fast that one forgets what happened yesterday. Even South Africa's sensational Rivonia trial of 20 years ago, with all its extraordinary disclosures about planned revolution, civil war and a Cuban-style communist takeover, is today largely forgotten.

A result is that a whole generation of South Africans has grown up almost totally ignorant of the true facts surrounding jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, now the pivot of a co-ordinated international "Release Mandela" campaign and seriously promoted by certain groups as a possible Chancellor of Wits University.

"Why doesn't the Government release him?" ask many who know Mandela mostly through the carefully cultivated, idealised legend of the Black nationalist, "great thinker," African philosopher.

"He's old, now," they say. "What harm can he do?"

That, of course, is precisely the question asked four years ago

about another political greybeard, the Ayatollah Khomeini, then aged 80 and living in exile in France.

In February 1979 the baleful old man was back in Iran, bringing war, revolution, economic devastation and mass executions with him.

So much for Mandela, a fit and sprightly 63, being "too old" to represent much of a political threat.

But let's look in depth at Mandela. Why this sustained global push, led by the UN (read USSR) to release him?

The answer is simple. As it stands now, the ANC is split right down the middle. Having lost much of its thrust, it desperately needs a "hero" figure to pull things together.

In recent years, the anti-South African forces have somewhat unpropitiously concentrated on such insignificant figures as Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches. Tutu is not held in high regard in Black nationalist circles.

Even Dr Motlana is not the figure he was in 1976-77. What our opponents really seek is a personality so strong

that he would once again electrify the universal climate against South Africa: a cult figure, a fighter, almost a Mao Tse Tung.

Nelson Mandela is perceived as that man.

Who is Mandela? He is a man who in his time brought appalling misery and hardship to his own people.

He was Accused No. 1 at the Rivonia trial. The finding of the court was that "it had been established beyond doubt that Nelson Mandela had been the leading spirit behind the creation of Umkhonto We Sizwe" - "Spear of the Nation", the revolutionary movement dedicated to the violent overthrow of the South African system.

Over the years, a great whitewashing job has been done on Mandela. It is always denied that he, personally, was a communist; but at his trial Dr Percy Yutar, leading counsel for the State, produced 10 documents, all in Mandela's own handwriting.

These, to say the least, cast doubt on that denial.

One was a 62-page document, How to be a Good Communist. This was a monograph on communism, consisting of three chapters, How

to be a Good Communist, Dialectical Materialism and Political Economy

For the purposes of this article, the Ministry of Justice has granted special permission for publication of certain extracts.

The document makes no bones about Mandela being a communist. It exhorts his comrades to "take part in mass struggles initiated by the South African Communist Party, the Congress movement or by other political bodies within the liberation movement."

In his own handwriting: "Under communist rule South Africa will become a land of milk and honey... in our country the struggle of the oppressed masses is led by the South African Communist Party and inspired by its policy."

He quotes from Lin Shao-Sohi, member of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Red China: "We Communist Party members are the most advanced revolutionaries in modern history and are the contemporary fighting and driving force in changing society in the world."

Again, in his own handwriting: "The communist movement still faces powerful enemies which must be completely crushed and wiped from the face of the earth before a communist world can be realised."

"To sacrifice one's personal interest and even one's life without the slightest hesitation for the cause of the party is the highest manifestation of communist ethics."

"The people of South Africa, led by the South African Communist Party, will destroy capitalist society and build in its place socialism."

"The transition from capitalism to socialism and the liberation of

the working class... cannot be effected by slow change or by reforms, as reactionaries and liberals often advise, but by revolution.

"One therefore, must be a revolutionary and not a reformist."

Mandela declined to take the oath and therefore did not enter the witness box, which meant he could not be cross-examined by the prosecution.

But he did read to the court a lengthy statement: all of it marvellous propaganda for his own cause.

At no time during the trial did the defence challenge the authenticity or authorship of the documents submitted.

On the contrary, counsel for the defence stated that "in the face of the overwhelming bulk of evidence against his clients," it would be "futile to refute any of the charges."

Only now is it being claimed that How to be a Good Communist was in fact not authored by Mandela but by someone else, and that Mandela had merely put it into acceptable English. A schoolboy could do better than that.

It is also claimed that Mandela was not a man of violence.

Again, the Rivonia evidence totally disproves that. Another document produced provided in the most minute detail the plans for Umkhonto's "Operation Mayibuye" — a blueprint for seizing control of the country by means of sabotage, revolution and guerrilla war.

This closely parallels the action used in the bloody Algerian revolution — not surprisingly, as Mandela had previously gone to North Africa for briefings by the Algerian revolutionaries.

Dr Yutar later wrote: "The primary aim of

Umkhonto was sabotage and its immediate policy was sabotage.

"The possibility of civil war was foreseen. (It) was no mere flash in the pan, but a superbly organised and detailed scheme to manufacture arms on a gigantic scale."

The court records show that the saboteurs had planned the manufacture of at least seven types of bombs (petrol, pipe, syringe, thermite and bottle bombs, colloquially known as "Molotov cocktails"); 48 000 anti-personnel mines; 210 000 hand grenades.

The uncontested documents provided more than adequate proof of the involvement of Moscow, Algeria, China, Czechoslovakia and East Germany in financing and providing arms and ammunition and training military personnel.

There can be no question that for activities such as this, Mandela in any communist state — or Black African state, for that matter — would have been shot out of hand.

Instead, we here in South Africa are urged: "Release Mandela!"

And if we did the very fact of this larger-than-life "hero" image built around him would mean that he could not slink quietly back to his farm, as did Albert Lutuli.

After all the fuss, he would have to produce.

He would be feted in all the capitals of the world, would have international awards showered upon him.

The Marxists would regard it as a tacit admission that they at long last had us on the run. For them it would represent not concession but capitulation.

For the Government it is an enormously complex, enormously difficult problem. But, in the final analysis, the question remains: "Do we really want an African Khomeini?"

REQUEST FOR JOINT WORK WITH SCHLEBUSCH COMMISSION REJECTED

Johannesburg (A. J. M. S. in English) 4 Jun 82

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. -- The vice State President, Mr. Alwyn Schlebusch, has turned down a request by the leader of the opposition, Dr. Van Zyl Slabbert, for joint discussions between the constitutional committees of the president's council and the Buthezi Commission.

Dr. Slabbert said yesterday he regretted the decision.

In a statement in Cape Town yesterday Mr. Schlebusch said that in terms of his interpretation, the Buthezi Commission did not meet the requirements of the constitution and the establishment of a joint committee was not possible.

He said the Buthezi Commission was not a constitutional committee and therefore could not meet the requirements of the constitution.

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to report jointly.

Mr. Schlebusch said his interpretation of section 106 of the constitution was:

● The constitutional committee might investigate and make recommendations on the specific request of the President's Council. Any such recommendations had then to be transmitted to the State President via the council together with comments the council might desire to make.

● The constitutional committee might, in investigating any matter, consult with whomsoever it wished but was bound to report in accordance with this procedure.

● The committee might recommend to the President's Council that they were members of a council established by the State President by way of the Buthezi Commission did not meet this requirement.

● The chairman of the President's Council might, for the purposes of a report to such a council, appoint a committee from the members of the council to investigate the matter.

however, make only its own recommendations to the council.

Dr. Slabbert proposes that the two committees should consult, engage in discussions and produce a joint report," he said.

This indicated that the desired a consultative committee which could not, in terms of his interpretation of the Act, be validly constituted.

"A joint report is also not possible in terms of the law and I cannot, as chairman of the President's Council, instruct the constitutional committee along the requested lines.

"I must consequently turn down Dr. Slabbert's request and have therefore not gone further into the merits of the case."

Dr. Slabbert, said he noted with regret the rejection by Mr. Schlebusch of his request.

While it was possible to raise technical arguments against such discussions, if there were a will to broaden the constitutional debate to include Blacks, a way could be found to do so, he said.

Blacks Not Excluded--Worrall

THE chairman of the constitutional committee of the President's Council, Dr Denis Worrall, yesterday denied Blacks had been completely excluded in the council's recommendations.

"As a matter of fact, in the recommendations on local and regional government, specific provision is made for Black participation in metropolitan structures," he told a Pretoria Press Club luncheon.

But as Blacks were not represented on the council, the body was unable to make recommendations regarding their constitutional future.

"And while acknowledging the importance of finding appropriate constitutional answers for Blacks outside the Black states, the committee does not believe that the inclusion of these Blacks on the same basis with Whites, Coloureds and Indians will produce a workable democratic arrangement."

The committee had felt that group domination should be avoided.

"For a satisfactory system of power-sharing to work in a highly plural society, there must be a rough balance between the different communities".

Dr Worrall saw little chance of the Buthelezi Commission's constitutional proposals working.

"The Buthelezi Commission's proposed consociation breaks down firstly because of the absolute majority which Blacks enjoy and secondly, because, as the commission itself shows, that Black majority is also the most coherent group in the proposed constitutional arrangement.

"And as long as Whites are reluctant to submit their perceived interests to a Black majority, such an arrangement is unlikely to be acceptable to them," he said.

CSO: 4700/1358

BOTHJA'S NEW SOCIETY GAMBLE DEPENDS ON TRUST

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English, 23 May 82 p 39

[Article by Ivor Wilkins: "Deeds--Not Fine Words--Are What We Need"]

[Text]

OF all the abstract forces that are going to contribute to or detract from the new political era South Africa's white, coloured and Asian politicians are trying to engineer, trust will be the most vital.

After more than 30 years of government that focused expressly on excluding all but died-in-the-wool white Nationalists from the exercise of power, the Government is now embarked on a volte face.

After specifically driving coloured people out of Parliament in the 1960s, it is now beckoning them to return to share in a new deal.

They are to engage in what the Prime Minister has termed 'a healthy form of power sharing'.

It is a period of high political risk for all the players in the new game, the gamble heightened by the fact that some of the key cards are yet to be played.

All eyes now, in the post-President's Council phase, are on the main dealer, Mr P W Botha. How he plays his next hand will largely determine the success or failure of the whole venture.

"Poor old Government," sighed one senior Nationalist at a function this week. "It is always up to the Government."

Never more so than now. Mr Botha, who has staked his career on finding a better dispensation for whites, coloureds and Asians, faces the enormous task of selling a new era to a society riven by division, united in suspicion.

In the rebirth of his reformist zeal, Mr Botha has returned to a style of rhetoric that began in the dusty out-

post of Uppington and found echoes last week in Springbok.

It bases its appeal on a high moral and ethical tone: "The God that I believe in is big enough to be the God of others as well."

Given the absence of large slices of detail in the current proposals, it is an appeal for trust. It is a request he has already made to his own followers.

"Trust me," he urged the Transvaal Nationalist congress two years ago, demanding the freedom to interpret policy. This year, 16 of his own MPs refused to give him that trust and quit the party.

He still faces a formidable task in overcoming residual mistrust in his own caucus and congresses for anything that smacks of sharing power with other races.

Now the plea for trust goes much wider. It includes the white electorate, the coloured and Asian communities, and, extends beyond to the black communities who are asked to accept that their interests are not being abandoned in the new exercise.

But, in marketing trust, the Government has an unenviable record to overcome.

Its rhetoric has been devalued through over-use to the point where Professor Theodore Hanf and others in "South Africa: Prospects of Peaceful Change" had to conclude: "So far, howev-

er, fine words have had to suffice.

"No Bills have been introduced to amend existing legislation, and at the level of petty apartheid no important administrative regulations have been abolished."

That was at the end of 1980, and there has been undeniable change since then. But it is a damaging perception that continues to prevail.

More than 30 years of exclusive power has also led to a certain state of mind by Government in South Africa that brooks no interference with its desires and has led to remarkable excesses.

A by-product of that state of mind has been a phenomenal ability by Government to rise above its own institutions when it sees the need. Three examples suffice.

In its efforts to evict the Langa squatters last year, the Government became outraged when lawyers started to defend each case.

Although they acted strictly in terms of the law, the legal men were branded as agitators and the Government adopted the simple expedient of by-passing the legal process — the courts whose independence it so stoutly espouses — and taking administrative steps.

The squatters were rounded up inside the prison where they were held and bussed back to their homelands under deportation orders.

Also last year, the Government passed amending legislation to close a "loophole" in its campaign to prevent certain organisations from raising funds.

The loophole that was removed was the time-honoured legal tradition of "audi alterem partem" (the right of the other side to be heard in court).

Sweeping aside objections to this abuse of juridical principle, the Minister responsible, Dr L A P A Munnik, said candidly: "I want a law strong enough that I don't have to go to court", and went on to describe the similarly hallowed concept of the rule of law as "namby-pamby".

In the context of devolving power to local authorities — central to the new proposals — there have also been inauspi-

cious beginnings, further reflections of a state of mind unused to tolerating anything other than its own standards and norms.

Last year, the Port Elizabeth Coloured Management Committee, an instrument created by Government to allow coloured people some say in their own municipal affairs, decided to name two streets after black leaders Nelson Mandela and Steve Biko.

The National Party in the Cape Provincial Council responded by immediately passing legislation to enable the Administrator to change the names of streets in consultation with the local authority concerned.

Steve Biko Street and Nelson Mandela Street still exist in the town concerned, but the "consultation" to persuade them to change is continuing and has already seen one reportedly stormy meeting between the management committee and the MEC in charge of local government, Mr Hernus Kriel.

This week's events in Parliament, too, provide an almost surreal juxtaposition. While the President's Council reports blazed in reformist promise, the country's legislators were busy passing three security Bills.

The main one, the Internal Security Bill, was described by Opposition MP Mr Ray Swart as a "compendium of all the old horrors of our security laws".

He continued: "No longer do critics of the severeness and extremities of these powers need rely on conjecture and supposition and suspicion that the powers given the State may be abused in the future, as these critics were compelled to do when the original measures were first enacted."

"We can now look at this Bill — this re-enacting composite Bill — against the certain background of the abuse of power which we know has occurred over the past nearly two decades, and which still occurs."

In essence, the reply by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr

Louis le Grange was a plea for trust in the security machine, and those appointed to run it.

Against a background of 44 deaths in detention it is a trust that will be hard-won. And Mr Le Grange's artless statement about his Department's history in looking after detainees will hardly help.

"If it were not for the Aggett case we would have had a very good record since the Biko case," he declared.

None of this necessarily disqualifies the Government from making genuine reform in South Africa, nor from heartfelt intentions that are honourable.

It certainly makes it more difficult to convince people that any prospect of change is genuine. And convincing is the prime task that now awaits the Government as it attempts to reshape a more inclusive future.

The Prime Minister has declared his willingness to alter the constitutional structures. He has already paid a certain price in blood for that willingness.

Certainly, even the most sceptical listener at Springbok last weekend, could hardly have failed to be impressed by the lengths to which he went to inject into his own people a spirit of justice and high moral intent to future politics — at least as far as whites, coloureds and Asians are concerned.

The manner with which he and his followers can demonstrate not only a willingness to change structures, but also a stark demand, will be central to whether or not he can win the trust without which the new era will be doomed to certain failure.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert recently accused the Government of having triumphed over all its adversaries.

The question now is whether, in its real and painful efforts to change, it can triumph over its deep-seated ills.

DETAILS ON TRIAL PROBING AGGETT DEATH GIVEN

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Jun 82 p 8

[Article by Sandra Lieberum]

[Text] Two magistrates and the inspector of the detainees called to see Dr Aggett on various dates and were allegedly told "the detainee is not available."

This evidence was given in the Johannesburg Inquest Court yesterday by Warrant Officer Walter McPherson, a Coloured Security Policeman.

He told the court that he was on duty until 4 pm daily on the second floor of John Vorster Square where the political detainees were kept.

He had the keys to the lock on the inner grid of the cells. The on-duty uniformed policeman for the second floor kept the keys for the outer doors of the cells.

He worked weekdays only and his duties included: attending to any complaints, to ensure prisoners washed daily, to ensure they exercised, arranging for the magistrate to speak to them when he arrived and the keeping of a daily register with details of whether the detainee washed, ate, and his state of health.

Each detainee wrote up and signed this register.

He told the court that on January 4, as stated in Dr Aggett's statement made 14 hours before his death, that Dr Aggett had complained to him about back-ache.

"He asked for a pain-killer. I said I would rather he went to the doctor. He said no and also told me he had suffered from back problems for a long time."

Tablet

He took Dr Aggett to the second floor medicine chest and Dr Aggett chose a 200 mg Brufen tablet. He also had one daily for the following three days.

He was taken aback when Mr D. Kuny, for the Aggett family, informed the witness that the pills in question were schedule 3 and could not be issued without a doctor's prescription.

"Dr Aggett was a doctor himself and he said he wanted that," said the witness.

It was alleged that on January 4, the day Dr Aggett claimed he was assaulted--according to his last statement--Mr Mouton, the inspector of detainees, arrived to visit Dr Aggett.

Quoting from a report said to have been made by Mr Mouton, counsel for the Aggett family read: "The detainee was again not available for an interview. The Security Police told me he was out on investigation."

The witness said the entry in the book had not been made by him. He was of the opinion that Dr Aggett had been taken up to the 10th floor interrogation section that day.

It was further put to the witness that on January 6 magistrate Wessels went to John Vorster Square to visit Dr Aggett and was told: "The detainee is not available. The same allegedly happened to magistrate P. C. van der Merwe on January 26."

WO McPherson could not explain why he had not entered in the daily register that the magistrate had called to see Dr Aggett.

Alive

He said he had been on duty that night. It was also not entered in the register that on January 11 Dr Aggett was in fact seen by magistrate Wessels.

He said the last time he saw Dr Aggett alive was at 4 pm on February 4 when he was brought to the prison for the night.

Constable Andre Martin, who was on duty in the cells on the night of Dr Aggett's death, told the court he was requested by Sergeant Achenbach at 11.00 am to enter in the duty register that Dr Aggett had been visited at 12.45 am.

Impossible

but they had all been so busy that in fact Sgt Achenbach only went to the cells at 1.20 am. This was when Dr Aggett was found dead.

It had been impossible to do the hourly round due to administrative work. Each round took half an hour. "It was almost impossible to do any cell rounds during the day when the overload of work was greater."

Const Martin also conceded that he entered in the duty register: "Prisoners and no complaints" before they had been visited.

"I was only following instructions from the cells sergeant."

Warrant Officer J. Marais was in the charge office on the night of Dr Aggett's death.

Emergency

When asked why he did not use the emergency keys to open the cell he said the doctor was already dead and had he not been dead they could have cut him down without opening the inner grid.

When asked why he did not call a doctor he said: "I did not know what the procedure was with political detainees." He said normally he contacted the Security Police if the detainees were ill.

The hearing continues today.

Captain Tells How Couple Were Seized

Captain J. C. Strauss of the security police testified that Dr Aggett was detained at 6.15 am on November 27 last year.

He went to Crown Mines where he found Dr Aggett and Dr Liz Floyd in bed and detained them both. She was released some weeks after Dr Aggett's death.

The court was told that a house in Fox Street and offices of the African Food and Canning Workers Union were searched. Books and documents were attached.

Dr Aggett allegedly told Capt Strauss, who wanted to contact his parents, that "he had no idea where they were and had completely lost contact with them."

Dr Aggett's parents both attended the proceedings yesterday.

Dr Aggett also apparently refused to answer any questions or to co-operate with an investigation into the possible furthering of the aims of the banned African National Congress.

Warrant Officer Laurence Prins, of the Security Police, handed the court an inventory of 109 books and documents.

Among the 109 were: African National Congress--the 70th anniversary of its foundation, African National Congress 1981--Year of the Youth.

There were numerous books concerned with trade unions, including Trade Unions and the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa, Pension Pension, Soweto Rent Increase, Trade Unions and the State--the Question of Legality, The Capitalist State and White Labour in South Africa and The Union Makes us Strong.

Among the items attached was a photograph of Dr Aggett and two Black women with the Freedom Charter visible in the background.

There were also numerous books concerning communism. A few of them were: Lenin's Selected Works, Lenin on the Paris Commune, State Power--Socialism and Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution.

Some of the documents and books also concerned detainees and included a memorandum on forming a permanent detainee support group.

The inventory also include Zimbabwe documents--Zimbabwe Information Service and Workers Unite "Urges Mugabe."

Dr Aggett was the secretary of the African Food and Canning Workers Union at the time of his arrest.

Detainee To Testify?

The Johannesburg Inquest Court may hear testimony from a fellow detainee of Dr Neil Aggett.

This was indicated yesterday. A statement by the former detainee, Mr Morris Peter Smithers, was handed to the magistrate to decide whether the inquest should hear evidence from this man who was released from detention under Section Six of the Terrorism Act on March 26.

However, the Press will not be able to quote his evidence if he is called. Mr Smithers was served with a banning order on April 13 during an adjournment of the preliminary proceedings for the Aggett inquest. The banning order was dated April 2.

CSO: 4700/1391

RETURN OF BISHOP TUTU'S CONFISCATED PASSPORT DEMANDED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Jun 82 p 11

[Text]

THE Minister of Internal Affairs had no right to confiscate Bishop Desmond Tutu's passport without showing good cause, it was argued in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Prof John Dugard of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand asked during an application for the return of Bishop Tutu's passport that if it had been destroyed a new one be issued.

Bishop Tutu, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches (SACC), had his passport withdrawn on April 9, 1981 when he returned from a tour of Europe and the United States.

The passport had been issued only a few months earlier and was due to expire in 1986.

Prof Dugard said the conditions of issue at the back of passports had no legal validity.

"These conditions of issue cannot affect the principle that the executive may not revoke the passport without good cause," he argued.

The conditions of issue read: "This passport remains the property of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and may be amended, withdrawn or cancelled at any time at the pleasure of the Minister of the Interior on behalf of the said Government, and shall, upon the request of the said Minister, or an officer authorised by him, be forthwith surrendered by the bearer to the Government."

Prof Dugard said these conditions had no force in law. "The mere inclusion of them at the back of a passport does not give the executive any greater powers."

He added: "The suggestion that it is a privilege to have a passport is not quite true. It is not an absolute privilege because to travel is a basic right."

Nor could it be said a passport was a contract between the executive and the passport holder. When applying for a passport, "one does not accept the conditions of issue because they are not detailed on the application forms."

Proceeding. — Sapa.

'RAND DAILY MAIL' CRITICIZES SWAZI LAND DEAL

MBIn 026 Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 16 Jun 82 p 10

[Editorial: "A Path of Peril"]

[Text] The government took a giant step along a perilous path this week when it declared its intention to cede the Ingwavuma region of Kwazulu and most of Kanyane to Swaziland in the teeth of opposition from the Swazulu and Kanyane legislative assemblies.

To ignore the almost unanimous opposition of these legislative assemblies is to contradict a principle which the government itself regards as sacrosanct: self-determination. Members of these assemblies, recognised by Mr P.W. Botha and Dr Piet Koornhof as true representatives of the Zulu and Swazi peoples of South Africa, met South Africa's proposals to cede the land in question to Swaziland with an unmitigated "no."

If "self-determination" means anything, it means not riding roughshod over the wishes of the government-recognized spokesmen of South Africa's Zulu and Swazi peoples, who collectively number nearly 6-million people. Why grant them land and provide for the establishment of legislative assemblies if the land can be taken away at a whim and the destiny of the assemblies dismissed? It makes a mockery of the supposed principle which Pretoria's ideologues insist underlie the policy of separate development. By extension, it raises questions about the quality of the autonomy granted to independent "homelands."

If the wishes of the Zulu and Swazi peoples can be overruled why should those of, say, the Xhosa or the Ndebele be inviolable?

The government's policy of handing out land to our political scene that sooner or later will be dominated by "coloured" and Indian allies, will have to be abandoned if the government is to remain credible, even if only for the purposes of maintaining the peace.

The only realistic basis for integrated negotiations is Chief Buthe's proposal for a "new" South Africa, a single and leader of the powerful "new" South Africa. It would be argued that there is sufficient common ground between the two warring parties to offer the possibility of getting the "new" South Africa to offer the possibility of getting the "new" South Africa to accept a peaceful and permanent resolution of the conflict.

Therefore, to ignore Chief Buthelezi's opposition to the cession of Ingwavuma for the uncertain advantages of appeasing Swaziland is questionable in the extreme. What can Swaziland offer which justifies the alienation of more than 5 million Zulus and 750,000 South African-born Swazis who now face the prospect of suddenly being declared un-South Africans; citizens of another country entirely? At best the deal with Swaziland is a misunderstanding of realpolitik. At worst it is rank stupidity.

CSO: 4700/1498

ANC SAID TO SPONSOR TERRORIST GROUPS IN TRANSKEI

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 29 May 82 p 8

[Text]

UMTATA. — Transkei was feeling the pressure of terrorist groups who operated under the auspices of the African National Congress, the Deputy Minister of Defence and Police, Mr David Tezapi, said in Umtata yesterday.

Delivering his policy speech on the Police Vote in the National Assembly, he said that during the latter half of last year, two Transkei security officers were murdered by terrorists and caches of Russian weapons and explosives were recovered by the security police.

"It may be mentioned, for all that is implied, that Transkeians were involved in this sordid plot, some of whom were arrested and others escaped," he said.

Mr Tezapi said investigations were now completed in this matter, which was complex and involved, and the accused men had already appeared in court and been remanded to a later date.

The Minister told the Assembly that Transkeians were still being influenced to leave the country illegally, with promises of scholarships, only to find themselves herded to refugee camps where their subjects were not history and mathematics but communism, sabotage and other forms of guerrilla warfare, so that they might return to overthrow the existing order.

"Subversive literature still makes a sporadic appearance throughout Transkei, indicating the presence of ANC organisers in the country," he said, quoting the incident in January when stacks of subversive literature belonging to the ANC were uncovered in the Qumbu district.

Four people were arrested in this matter and would appear in court when the necessary investigations under the security legislation were finalised, he said. —Sapa-AH

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CATHOLIC BISHOPS APPROVE OF NGK DISSIDENTS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Dan Marais and SAPA]

[Text]

THE South African Catholic Bishops Conference yesterday endorsed the action of 121 clerics who signed an open letter addressed to Die Kerkbode, the NG Kerk journal in which they suggested a number of changes. The clerics called for church services to be open to all races, the abolition of laws preventing mixed marriages and the full participation of all races in all facets of South African society.

In a Press statement, Archbishop Denis Hurley said in Pretoria yesterday: "With all my heart I said 'thank God' for the 121 ministers and officials of the Dutch Reformed Church who had so clearly and courageously proclaimed their Christian witness."

"What a day it is for South Africa when these splendid people, filled with Christian faith, hope and love and animated by the grace of God spell out for their own church and for the country at large, the implications of the Christian gospel of love."

"I could embrace them all if they could stand such behaviour from a Catholic archbishop, but having said what they have said, I'm sure they could."

"They have called on their own church to realise what the Christian gospel demands of it to break down the barriers of apartheid and to witness Christian love. They have spelt out that this love must overflow in Christian concern that is in expressing Christian values in a social and political life."

"We celebrated Pentecost just over a week ago. What happened today is a true Pentecost, a true manifestation of the Holy Spirit working through the magnificent 121."

The Kerkbode has slammed the behaviour of the clerics and the editor, Dr Lappes

Muller, said in an editorial a referendum of all clerics and lecturers in theology to decide how matters which were of vital importance to the church should be handled.

Dr Muller also raised objections to the manner

to which the signatures appearing on the letter had been canvassed.

He also pointed out that the federal council had employed a committee to study unity in the church and said the writers of the letter had anticipated its findings.

The letter, by calling for a new social order in South Africa would have a traumatic effect on the NG Kerk, Bishop Desmond

Tutu, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches of South Africa, said in Johannesburg yesterday, reports Sapa.

"It will have a traumatic effect on the NG Church in the sense that people have thought for a long time the church supports the National Party," he said.

"The letter must have come as a very great shock to them when responsible and eminent church leaders stated categorically that those policies were unbiblical."

Nothing significant could happen in South Africa as far as human

relationships were concerned if the NG Kerk were excluded from developments.

"Therefore, once the NG church is, in my view, inspired by the Holy Spirit to see the truth as the mainstream of the Christian seed, we are in for very exciting times," Bishop Tutu said.

He was touched by the humility of the letter-writers and their "confession of sin," he said.

"The NG Church dare not ignore the letter because these people are saying responsibly and in loyalty to their church, what many other Christians have been trying to say about the role of the church," he said.

Dr Alan Boesak, theologian of the NG Sendingkerk, said in Cape Town yesterday the open letter was "courageous" but that he did not think that the church as a whole would consider the proposals.

"I think they will find themselves at the crossroads. I would like to invite them to

join our Black churches, as other White NG theologians have done."

Dr Pieter de Villiers, a Cape signatory and senior lecturer in Biblical studies at the University of Stellenbosch said the significance of the letter was that it represented the feeling of many younger ministers trained during the 1960s.

"I signed it in a spirit of loyalty to the church. I am just as guilty as the whole church of those things we discuss in the letter."

CSO: 4700/1391

HUNT GOES ON FOR ALLEGED SABOTEUR

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Jun 82 p 12

[Text]

A NORTHERN Natal farmer and his son have shot dead two terrorists. One was being sought by police in connection with the explosions at Paulpietersburg last week.

Police headquarters in Pretoria confirmed yesterday that Bheki Sam Mchunu, (26) and an unidentified terrorist were shot dead on Tuesday night.

Bheki Sam Mchunu and Galokwakhe Theminkosi Sithole (29), believed to be ANC members, were being hunted in connection with explosions last Thursday at the Kemps List mine near Paulpietersburg, the Total petrol depot near the town and the railway station.

Galokwakhe Theminkosi Sithole is still on the run and is considered to be dangerous.

On Tuesday a Paulpietersburg farmer was on his way home at 11 pm when he saw two Black men hitch-hiking.

The farmer, whose name has not been released for security reasons, recognised one of the men as an alleged saboteur connected with the Paulpietersburg explosions.

The men told him they were on their way to a Black village.

He told them his wife was waiting for him for supper. He said they could travel with him and also have supper. Afterwards he would take them to the village.

When he reached his home the farmer tried to contact the police, but the line was engaged. He went out looking for the two men, but they had left.

He and his son took their rifles and went out searching for them. They found them in the veld. The farmer told the two men in Zulu to stand still but they started firing with AK47 rifles.

The farmer and his son fired back and the two men were shot dead.

On the dead men police found two AK47 rifles of Eastern European origin, 4,7 kg of plastic explosives, four AK47 rifle magazines, a quantity of ammunition, two hand grenades and ANC pamphlets.

The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, has thanked the media for publishing photographs of the suspected saboteurs.

● Three unidentified people were detained earlier for questioning in connection with the bombings at Vryheid and Paulpietersburg.

LAWYER IN TRIO FACING TREASON CHARGE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Jun 82 p 12

[Text]

PIETERMARITZBURG. — A Durban attorney and two other men are to face a main charge of high treason and 41 other counts at a trial which begins on August 2 in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court.

The charges arise from explosions in central Durban and Umlazi last year.

The attorney is Mr Patrick Ntobeko Maqubela 32, of Clermont.

Mr Mboniswa de Villiers Richard Maqutyan, 29, of Umlazi and Mr Seth Mpumulelo Gaba of Madantsane township, East London face the charges with him.

The alleged ANC conspirators face multiple counts of sabotage, participation in terroristic activities, attempted murder, malicious damage to property and wilfully causing explosions.

The State claims that, between February and November last year, the men caused seven explosions in central Durban and one at the Umlazi bridge railway line.

Nine people were injured and damage amounted to R473 552, according to the State indictment.

The blasts were at the SADF recruiting offices in Smith Street the cenotaph in Francis Farewell Square, McCarthy Leyland's Smith Street

branch, Scotts stores in Field Street, the Whitehead building in Stanger Street and the Indian Affairs offices on the Esplanade.

Each of the accused faces additional counts of possession of arms and ammunition and possession of explosives.

The State alleges that the men attempted to recruit people for terrorist training outside the country and also established arms caches in Natal. — Sapa.

CSO: 4700/1391

TESTING OF HIGH-SPEED TRAIN REPORTED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Jun 82 p 4

[Text] South Africa will join advanced overseas countries when a high-speed passenger train service is introduced next year.

A high speed test locomotive and coach is currently flashing over the rails on the Rosslyn-De Wildt section of track near Pretoria thrice weekly, at the phenomenal speed of 200 plus km/h for test purposes.

To make high-speed runs such as this feasible, new bogies had to be developed, and research culminated in the by now world renowned HS goods type bogie. Realisation of the need for higher-speed passenger services led to the development of the bogies.

A record-breaking run at 245 km/h on August 26, 1976 resulted in a world record for the relatively narrow 1,065 mm South African gauge track.

Although this design is suitable for speeds of 200 km/h it will, for practical reasons, operate at a maximum speed of 150 km/h.

Theoretically, the HS passenger bogie is capable of operating at speeds in excess of 300 km/h but facilities to prove this in practice are not available.

Two high-speed passenger trains will first be introduced on the Pretoria-Johannesburg line. Each will have eight coaches and two class 12E electric locomotives operating in the push-pull mode.

Five locomotives (one spare) and 17 coaches ordered from overseas will be fitted with bogies produced in the SA Transport Services' Koedoespoort mechanical workshops.

The first train set will be available this year, and tests as well as crew-training will be conducted from next October.

Alterations to the existing Pretoria-Johannesburg track are necessary. "New designs of point machines with locks will eliminate speed reduction as when travelling over existing sets," Dr H. Scheffel, Assistant Chief Mechanical Engineer (Design and Development) at the South African Transport Services pointed out yesterday.

The provision of special high-speed pantographs will minimise alterations to over-head electrical track equipment.

The 150 km/h trains will be fitted with supervision systems which will ensure that all critical points, such as signals, curves and speed restriction areas are negotiated at the permissible speed.

CSO: 4700/1391

EXPLOSIONS DAMAGE FUEL DEPOT, ESCOM TRANSFORMER

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 29 May 82 p 1

[Text]

LIMPET mines are thought to be the cause of explosions which damaged a BP fuel depot and an Escom transformer near Hectorspruit in the Eastern Transvaal early yesterday morning.

Sabotage is suspected and investigations are in progress, a spokesman for the Police Division of Public Relations said in Pretoria yesterday.

Hectorspruit is a village at the southern boundary of the Kruger National Park and near Komatipoort on the South African-Mozambique border.

Damage

Residents in the area reported that three loud explosions were heard shortly after 1 am yesterday morning. The lights in the village went out and then two more explosions were heard.

The police spokesman told The Citizen that the explosions occurred at 1.15 am yesterday, nobody was injured, but he could not comment on the extent of the damage. It is thought to be "considerable".

After the explosions a number of petrol tanks caught fire, then a grease and oil store near the tanks.

The cabin of a fuel tanker parked nearby was also burned out.

Extinguished

The fire in the fuel tanks was extinguished by the Nelspruit Fire Department at about 5 am.

Mr Ken Wood Press information manager for BP South Africa said late yesterday afternoon: "At this stage I cannot give any further information. Existing security legislation and arrangements prevent discussion concerning the situation.

"I can say, however, that supplies to customers and service stations in the area are being continued."

NEW EAST RAND MARSHALLING YARD NEARS COMPLETION

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 19 May 82 p 17

[Article by Andrew Walker: "R400-m Rail Yard Will Cut Delays on Reef"]

[Text] A R400 million marshalling yard nearing completion on the East Rand could cut by days the delivery time for goods sent by rail from the Witwatersrand to other parts of South Africa and neighbouring territories.

The Sentrarand marshalling yard near Benoni, is expected to relieve congestion of goods traffic and reduce damage to goods.

Staging Point

The computerised marshalling yard will begin operation on September 30. It will be the staging point for all goods travelling to, from or via the Witwatersrand and Pretoria.

Mr Danie Odendaal, a senior railways superintendent said the project formed the first stage of a four-part scheme.

Next Decade

The second stage would probably be built in the next decade, but the last two were not expected until well into the next century, he said.

Sentrarand, the biggest marshalling yard in the southern hemisphere, will have an immense effect on rail transport.

The yard is 10 km long and 6 km wide and will be used to centralise the marshalling of all goods trains in the area.

Trains will not have to move between stations to pick up goods. All trains bound for Durban, for example, will be assembled at Sentrarand. The same will apply to incoming traffic. Goods bound for Witwatersrand stations will be taken there from Sentrarand.

The yard will be able to handle 130 incoming and 130 outgoing trains a day.

At present goods are dealt with at 10 marshalling yards around the Reef. But a train arriving at one station might contain goods bound for several others.

Because of congestion on Reef lines, it can take up to four days to disperse goods. Goods trains are not allowed on the system during peak commuter hours, resulting in a loss of eight hours a day.

Sentrarand will change all that. It will operate 24 hours a day.

The yard is highly mechanised and computerised and will save on manpower. Germiston and Bayhead stations have operating staffs of 1 239, but the Sentrarand will need a staff of only 198.

The new yard will transform the area around its Bapsfontein site, about 50 km from Johannesburg.

Hostels are being erected for workers and a soccer stadium is to be built. Staff will be encouraged to buy municipal housing land in the area.

An extensive network of tracks with 64 sidings criss-crossing the marshalling yard will be commanded from two five-level control towers.

CSO: 4700/1357

RACE RELATIONS INSTITUTE RELEASES DETENTION FIGURES

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 18 May 82 pp 1, 19

[Article by Caroline Dempster]

[Text]

There are now 190 people detained in South Africa and the homelands, according to figures released yesterday by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The institute says the task of compiling an accurate list of detained and banned people is not an easy one and the list may not be definitive.

But there are still large discrepancies between the official figures given by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr le Grange, in

Parliament last week and the figures released by the institute.

On May 11 the Minister said 73 people were being held under security legislation in South Africa.

The total of 190 given by the institute includes the homeland areas, but the number of detainees in police custody outside the homelands still exceeds 73.

The process of getting information from the Security Police has been made doubly difficult by a new ruling.

Anybody who wishes to confirm the detention or release of a person has to give the name and address and date and place of birth before the Security Police will respond.

The institute says 104 people have been detained since the beginning of the year and of these only 34 are known to have been charged.

Some of those still detained have been in police custody since January last year and have spent longer than 17 months without being charged or appearing in court.

Security Police Interest Turns to the Trade Unions

Trade unionists and workers have come under the detention-without-trial whip of South African and homeland security legislation in increasing numbers over recent years. Stories compiled by Carolyn Dempster with acknowledgements to the Labour Bulletin, Gerhard Mare's "Repression in and through the Bantustans" and the SA Institute of Race Relations.

Of the 768 people detained in 1979/80, only 21 were trade unionists and workers.

Last year, more than 300 trade unionists and workers were detained out of a total of 772.

including those in Venda, Ciskei and the Transkei.

These figures, drawn from SA Institute of Race Relations records, show a decided swing of security police interest: from the rebel students of 1976/7 to the leaders of the emergent unregistered trade unions of the past couple of years.

That detention without trial, as opposed to banning, has become the preferred method of the security police, is revealed by a quick glance at the history of security police action against trade unions in South Africa.

The relationship between the unions and the security police was thrown into sharp relief on February 5 this year, with the death in detention of Dr Neil Aggett, Transvaal regional secretary of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union (AFCWU).

He was not the first trade unionist to be detained, nor the first to die while in police custody. In 1963 Looksmart Ngudle, a trade union leader, died while being held for interrogation. Others to follow were: Caleb Mayekiso (1969), Luke Mazwemba (1976), Lawrence Ndranga (1977) and Elijah Loza (1977).

State action against unionists was not uncommon before 1950, but with the passing of the Suppression of Communism Act the Government acquired the necessary "tool" to weaken the independent trade unions.

Between 1960 and 1962, 50 South African Congress of Trade Union Leaders were banned, and 35 others detained. Constant harassment, including raids on union offices, intimidation of workers, spying within union ranks and collu-

sion with employers, became the methods used by the security police to keep tabs on the activities of the "independents."

The rise of the black unregistered trade unions over the last four to five years as potentially powerful worker organisations has elicited an even greater interest and attempt at indirect control by the State.

Reacting to the lack of evidence which the Security Police had against the trade unionists, even though it appeared many had spent months in detention, Dr Alex Boraine, PFP opposition spokesman, warned: "This substantiates the view that certain trade unions are being harassed and persecuted by the State."

In the biggest crackdown on unionism since 1976, it became obvious which trade unions the State was most concerned with — the non-racial unregistered worker organisations. Although not registered nor recognised by some employers, these organisations are completely legal.

Among those who have suffered over the past 1½ years are:

SAAWU — South African Allied Workers' Union (85 000 members).

GAWU — General and Allied Workers' Union.

MACWUSA — Motor Assemblers and Component Workers' Union.

GWU — the General Workers' Union.

BMWU — Black Municipality Workers' Union.

A/FCWU — African/Food and Canning Workers Union (20 000 members).

BAWU — Black Allied Workers Union.

CCAWUSA — Com-

mmercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union.

It is no secret that the Security Police have endeavoured to "break" the 85 000-strong union of SAAWU or attempted to exert greater control over its leadership.

In September 1980 a confidential document was circulated to companies in East London containing proposals to bring SAAWU to its knees.

"Urgent action is needed to break the power of SAAWU and other unregistered black trade unions" read the circular, variously alleged to have been issued by the Department of Co-operation and Development, the Security Police, and for the Department of Manpower Utilisation.

In August 1981, Minister le Grange admitted that an East London security officer had issued the document to employers. By so doing the Minister seemingly condoned the practice of interference in labour issues by security police, and the suppression of legal organisations.

And at a time when the entire SAAWU leadership was in police detention, June 29 1981, Mr le Grange stated that while the Government would tolerate some labour unrest, certain unionists were overstepping the mark.

It was with this attitude that the Security Police entered the "delicate and explosive labour arena" in South Africa.

★ ★ ★

Thomazile Gqeta, president of SAAWU, has probably felt the impact of South African and Ciskeian Security Police harassment more than any other union leader to date.

In 1980 Ciskei security officials searched the offices, interrogated him and on April 17 detained him under the Riotous Assemblies Act. He was released on R500 bail twice and then redetained in October with vice-president Sisa Njikelana.

In 1981 the South African Security Police held him on June 26, released him on August 3, redetained him for a day on August 28 and then placed him in detention on December 10.

In the interim, on November 1, a fire swept through the home of his mother and uncle resulting in the death of both, and on his return from the funeral Ciskeian police opened fire on the mourners — killing his girlfriend, Miss Diliswa Roxiso.

When Thomazile Gqeta was admitted to the psychiatric ward of a Johannesburg hospital on February 17, less than two weeks after the death of Dr Neil Aggett, he had not been charged, and was still being held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

He was released on March 4 1982. No charge was brought against him.

Last week, and for the first time in a three-year chronicle of harassment, Mr Gqweta was charged under the

Terrorism Act.

★ ★ ★

Emma Mashinini, general secretary of CCAWUSA, and Rita Ndzanga, organising secretary for GAWU, were released last week after six months in detention. Neither has been charged.

Zwelakhe Sisulu, president of MWASA, was released after 251 days in police custody without being charged. Five MACWUSA officials; Dumile Makanda, Maxwell Madlingozi, Mxolisi Didiza, Zandile Mjuza and Sipho Pitjana, held after a series of sympathy strikes in Port Elizabeth on June 16 1981 were released after 270 days in detention. A month later four were banned for two years. None was charged.

At one stage, five GAWU officials were being held. Of those released, none has been charged. These are a mere handful of examples.

The rising bitterness at the "vendetta" being conducted by the Security Police was expressed by 10 major unions in a joint statement on March 11, pointing out that the concerted police attack had made a mockery of the State's new labour dispensations.

The employers have not all remained silent. Mr Tony Bloom, head

of the giant Premier Milling Corporation, hit out at businessmen recently for not taking a stand on the havoc created by detention of trade unionists.

Anglo American spoke out after Dr Neil Aggett's death, and the Federated Chamber of Industries — one of the three employer bodies in South Africa — last week made representation to the Government on the severe consequences of Security Police action.

International protest at the treatment meted out to black trade union leaders and the death of Dr Neil Aggett came from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions representing 70 million workers worldwide, and the Australian Council of Trade Unions who imposed a week-long ban on SA shipping and air travel.

Despite the protests — now coming from all quarters — the harassment continues. It has reached the stage where Dr Alex Boraine describes the Security Police action against trade unions as having reached "crisis proportions." Mrs Helen Suzman MP added that "apathetic attitude" of the Minister of Manpower in such circumstances is "an invitation to anarchy."

Alarming Trend in Homelands

Over 50 percent of all the people detained in 1981 were homeland detainees, indicating the alarming effect of the introduction of separate security legislation by the black states.

Of the 772 detentions

In 1981, 393 were in the homelands: Transkei 59, Ciskei 318, Venda 15 and Bophuthatswana one.

In 1980, the total of known detentions in the homelands was 188, so the figure jumped 52 percent in just over a year.

The reason has been

partially attributed to the introduction of additional security legislation and enforcement by the so-called "independent" homelands.

Contained in each constitution of these homelands is a clause which firmly entrenches the security legislation of the central State (South Africa). Until the homeland chooses to pass a variation of or extension to these laws, they remain intact.

Some homelands use their own security legislation in conjunction with South African security law, giving the homeland officials a breadth of scope unequalled in South Africa.

● **TRANSKEI**, the first homeland to be granted "independence," in October 1976, inherited the notorious Proclamation R400 which allowed for detention without trial for unlimited periods on the decision of a Bantu Affairs Commissioner, later Transkeian police.

Between 1963 and 1976, 1170 people were detained, of whom 261 were released without charge.

Proclamation R400 was replaced by the Public Security Act of the "independent" Transkei in 1977.

In this PSA law Transkeians had "seized upon all the worst aspects of South Africa's legal system and then honed and tempered them into a uniquely malevolent tool." (Mare), providing for a state of emergency, banishment by chiefs, house arrests and the prohibition of

strikes.

On September 23, 1980 members of the PAC who were detained in December 1978 were finally released after going on a hunger strike in protest at their continued detention. However, two were admitted to hospital and an appeal was made to the United Nations, OAU, Amnesty International and Red Cross before they were released.

● **In BOPHUTHATSWANA** the Internal Security Act 22 of 1979 became the equivalent of the Transkei Public Security Act, and Proclamation R174 made security provisions for a curfew, prohibition of movement, detention without trial and protection of chiefs.

Its Riotous Assemblies Act of 1978 allowed chiefs and headmen the power to prohibit mass meetings — an extension of the SA Riotous Assemblies Act.

● **In VENDA**, which achieved statehood in September 1980, Proclamation R270 was modelled on that of the Transkei. Venda did not choose to repeal any of the central State's security legislation and is thus an example of the joint security legislation in force.

In January of this year, the Lutheran Church protested against the detention of half of the church's full-time ministers in Venda: Dean T S Farisani, Rev N Phaswane, A Mahamba and Rev P M Phosiwa. In just over two months, 15 people had been detained and a Mr Tshifhiwa Muofhe

was alleged to have died while in detention.

● **CISKEI**, the most officious in application of security legislation since "independence" in December 1981, has used Proclamation R252 in action mainly against the trade unions.

Proclamation R252 was passed after the death of Steve Biko in 1977 and its terms restrict the holding of meetings; subversive or intimidating actions or statements; and the treatment of chiefs, ministers and headmen with disrespect, contempt or ridicule. Movement is also prohibited and 90 day detention without trial provided for.

In addition, the South African security legislation has not been repealed. Chief Minister Lennox Sebe, backed by head of Security Charles Sebe has also admitted the "cooperation" of SA security police in trade union cases.

On September 6 last year, 205 union members were detained as they entered Mdantsane by bus after a mass meeting; 181 were later charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act. The cases are pending.

Earlier in the year, 58 Wilson Rowntree workers were held — some were detained for up to three months. Ernest Owesha, branch chairman of the AFC-WU, was the only one to be charged — with possession of banned literature.

With acknowledgements to a forthcoming publication, "Repression in through the Bantustans" by Gerhard Mare of the Southern African Research Service.

ADOPTION OF BILL OF RIGHTS ADVOCATED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 24 May 82 p 24

[Editorial: "The Case for a Bill of Rights"]

[Text]

IRONICALLY it has needed the legal system of a satellite black State, Bophuthatswana, to point to a basic defect in the laws of South Africa. Because that territory convicted a man under its Terrorism Act, inherited from South Africa in 1977, he was able to appeal successfully to the South African Appeal Court — which found in effect that the Act is contrary to civilised standards. Had the appellant been found guilty in a South African court, he would have been entitled to no such appeal and would be serving a 15-year sentence.

For South Africans convicted under the same Terrorism Act, the case of Wilfred Sebone Sarwane has only a limited academic interest. They are left no room for appeal on similar grounds. Bophuthatswana, to its credit, adopted a Declaration of Fundamental Rights enshrining, among other things, the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty and the right of a detainee to go to court over his imprisonment. It was on grounds that the Terrorism Act was in conflict with these rights that Mr Sarwane was able to succeed in his appeal.

Nonetheless the judgment has an important moral bearing on South Africa's continuing

debate over the Terrorism Act, which makes sweeping presumptions of guilt and effectively strips a detainee of ordinary legal rights. It is interesting to note that the Appeal Court appreciated the importance of the case by having it heard by a full Bench of 11 judges, something that has happened only twice before. It is also of interest, albeit in a different way, that among the four judges dissenting from the majority verdict was South Africa's new Chief Justice, Mr Justice Rabie.

It was the first Appellate Division decision on a matter of basic human rights. These rights are well entrenched in South Africa's legal traditions but they have been deeply eroded by the Terrorism Act and other "security" laws. Bophuthatswana had the good sense to reinforce these rights after independence by putting them into its constitution. Thus they prevail over statutes which diminish them, and make any conflict subject to the decision of the courts. South Africa has no formal constitution and no similar protection for the individual's basic rights. Through this historic judgment, the point has been made that we badly need a Bill of Rights.

This would not mean that anyone is "soft on security" or

that terrorists should be given carte blanche to plant bombs or foment armed uprising against authority. It simply means putting some elementary curbs on the State's vast powers to act against those it considers security risks. Anyone accused as a common criminal, even a murderer has the rights not to be presumed guilty and not to be locked up indefinitely without an appearance in court. Is it unreasonable to ask the same for people detained on mere suspicion?

Other Western countries contrive to limit the State's incursions on basic freedoms even when subjected to greater threats of subversion. In South Africa, the list of arbitrary laws grows longer by the year. There are good grounds for believing that these laws in themselves add to the security threat. They help breed disrespect for all law. In seeking to defend "Western civilisation" the Government keeps attacking one of its fundamental bases, the rule of law.

A Bill of Rights is among the constitutional assurances which the President's Council is expected at some stage to recommend. If it were effective right now it might make the tasks of reform and moderation a good deal easier. It would be a sign not of weakness, but of wisdom and strength.

CSO: 4700/1357

EXODUS OF KEY PERSONNEL REPORTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES—BUSINESS TIMES in English 23 May 82 p 3

[Article by John Spira]

[Text]

MANPOWER in South Africa is still on the move.

Perhaps not with the same velocity as a year ago — but in big numbers nevertheless. And it is costing more than ever to replace key men.

This is the message of a manpower replacement costs analysis by Paul Tingley Selection (PTS), manpower consultants.

PTS did a similar survey at the end of the economic boom, at which time reaction was that the exercise had been conservatively biased. Hence the latest study.

The salary levels used for each category were an average 15% above those of the same categories when the survey was last done in 1981, and range from R18 000-R25 000 a year for a technician to R40 000-R50 000 for a general manager.

PTS took into account 48 different factors affecting the cost of replacing key men and categorised these costs under the headings of separation, acquisition, reorientation and, for the first time, opportunity cost.

Opportunity cost is defined as the departing employee's opportunity to affect his company's performance through lack of motivation and association with the company's goals.

The reorientation phase proves the most expensive followed by the separation phase.

But there are some interesting cost anomalies.

For example, during the separation phase the study finds that an accountant, for professional and ethical reasons, is less likely to have a high opportunity cost factor than, say, a salesman who could directly influence a company's performance.

During the separation process the departing employee could cause considerable damage to the company.

"Naturally, work output suffers, and this is a highly critical factor prior to and during separation," says PTS's Paul Tingley.

Similarly, a disgruntled worker could affect the morale of other workers, causing a ripple effect of lower productivity.

A salesman, pro rata to his sales budget, would probably cause the most damage if he managed to take business with him, thereby losing market share for his old company.

In the reorientation phase, the survey takes into account direct and indirect opportunity costs.

According to Mr Tingley: "It may take a key man up to nine months to be properly operational and start making a contribution to company profits."

"On that basis, we calculate that a technical sales man would cost his new company R45 000, an accountant

R10 000 and an engineer R37 500."

Aside from these factors, there are the direct (above-the-line) costs of recruiting the new man, including advertising response, administration time, line manager's interviewing time, testing and reference checks.

Factors such as the cost of increased salaries for the new man (vis-a-vis the old), relocation costs and recruitment fees do not form part of the survey.

Even without these, total replacement costs are astronomical, ranging from R18 000 for the accountant to R123 000 for the general manager.

Moreover, says Mr Tingley, South African corporations should not delude themselves into believing that it is a buyer's market.

In fact, the valued key man who could, for example, hike productivity and profit improvements through good management is still in very short supply. So, too, are men in the service sector and in many manufacturing sectors.

"South Africa still has a skilled manpower shortage, and while some sectors are definitely feeling the pinch of the slowdown others are continuing to expand."

"Still others are only too pleased to have a little breathing space while they assess, develop and implement their manpower plan in order to gear up for the eventual turnaround."

"The message, therefore, is don't let your key men go if you can help it."

STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF CAPE SEA ROUTE REAFFIRMED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 23 May 82 p 28

[Geoffrey Allen's "News Analysis": "Neutral"]

[Text]

SOUTH AFRICA has thrown off the mantle of a "captive ally" of Western Europe and America and is prepared to use the threat of neutrality to bargain for a new deal for the supply of arms and military support.

The Republic has made it clear that she is prepared to use as a bargaining counter the strategically crucial ports on the Atlantic and Indian Ocean seabords (with their in-depth repair and maintenance facilities) and her position astride the

Cape sea route — as well as her possible role as a giant aircraft carrier.

This message has been spelt out in the past 10 days by the

Chief of the South African Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, academic strategists, and American foreign policy analyst

Rear-Admiral Robert J Hanks.

This new militant stance has been so clearly understood in the United States that, according to

Admiral Hanks, no planners in the Pentagon are under the delusion that they could simply assume the right to use Simonstown in an emergency.

What gives the Cape sea route its crucial importance is not merely its existence as the only viable alternative to the Suez Canal, but also because it is what Pentagon strategists call a "choke point" which could easily be cut off by the Soviet navy.

"Choke points" were described by Admiral Hanks as being narrow areas through which merchant shipping was obliged to pass and which were therefore vulnerable to attack.

Ironically while there are thousands of sea miles between Cape Point and the Antarctic, the Cape is also a choke point because merchant ships would not venture into the fearful weather further south.

Forceful

"No skipper in his right mind would venture into the Roaring Forties to avoid a submarine threat," Admiral Hanks said.

"No one at the Pentagon thinks that all we have to do is send a message to Prime Minister Botha and we will automatically have access to Simonstown.

"It would require a major change in the political stance of the US toward South Africa before that could happen," he told a maritime strategy seminar organised by the Institute of Strategic Studies of Pretoria University.

Strategists say the decision to remain neutral in any conflict could in itself be a forceful weapon.

Port facilities could be denied to Western navies for all but the minimum time al-

lowed under Geneva Convention rules (24 hours.)

Prior to the British withdrawal from the Simonstown agreement, South Africa had no choice in making the base available to British forces.

A clause in the agreement stipulated that the harbour and facilities would be made available to Britain whether or not South Africa was involved in the conflict.

Nasty

Neutrality could be a "very nasty" approach according to Commandant Deon Fourie, senior lecturer in Strategic Studies at the University of South Africa.

"The neutrality decision rests on a number of assumptions and depends entirely on the nature of the conflict.

"It's not true that we are automatically obliged to fall into the Western camp. Only if our own interests are threatened would that automatically be the case," he said.

The Soviets have numerous port options on both sea-boards. They have Maputo (where there is a floating dock on which they have reserved 40 percent of the working time) and Beira as well as Madagascar and a series of other agreements in the Indian Ocean.

"On the Western seaboard they are also adequately accommodated.

"The West by contrast has virtually nothing except Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean which lacks back-up facilities unlike the South African ports," Cmdt Fourie said.

The concept of South Africa as a "captive ally" of the West was first raised by Mr P W Botha who, as Minister of Defence, said in

August, 1967:

"It would appear that in the political councils of most of the Western World we are regarded very much as a captive ally ... the importance to other countries of the sea route is conveniently overlooked when the political grazing elsewhere is better."

Blessing

For Britain the threat that she would be denied the use of the Simonstown naval facilities was spelt out by Mr Botha as long ago February, 1968, after the Simonstown Agreement had been abandoned by Mr Harold Wilson's Labour Party Government.

In an opening address to the maritime strategy seminar, Gen Viljoen bluntly stated the case:

"The Republic of South Africa has in the past declared more than once her willingness to share in the defence of the Cape sea route, PROVIDED she is not asked to do this alone and PROVIDED that she is allowed to buy suitable naval vessels and equipment for the execution of this task."

Gen Viljoen said that if the Falkland Islands crisis brought about this revision it would prove to be a "blessing in disguise".

Central to South Africa's decision to actively adopt a neutral stance was the British decision to enforce an arms embargo and to withdraw from the Simonstown Agreement.

It was that decision and the Labour Government's lead in enforcing the Western arms embargo that forced South Africa to join the so-called "fifth world" of pariah nations and seriously to review her stance vis a vis the West.

DETAILS ON USE OF SA ARMY FOUNDATION'S LOGO GIVEN

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 3 Jun 82 p 4

[Text]

THIRTY companies had applied to market more than 100 products under the SA Army Foundation's "Action" logo in return for payment of a cent a litre, kilogram or R1 value of goods sold, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said.

Replying to a question by Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeville), Gen Malan said the SA Army Foundation was given approval in 1978 to launch a fund-raising project whereby participant manufacturers could contract to market any brand of product under a logogram registered in the name of the Foundation.

In return for the use of the logo, the manufacturers paid the Foundation one cent a kilogram, litre or rand value of the product concerned.

Ten percent of the amount collected was paid to a firm marketing the products on the

Foundation's behalf.

The Foundation hoped to collect enough funds through the scheme to develop three rest and recreation centres for members of the army.

Gen Malan said a deputation from the Federated Chamber of Industries had come to see him to obtain more information about the project and to voice their criticism of it. The chairman and secretary of the Board of Control of the SA Army Foundation had explained the scheme.

"Recently, as a result of speculative views expressed in Press reports, the following points of criticism regarding the project came to the notice of the Foundation:

- That the project could be inflationary;
- That non-participants could be labelled unpatriotic;
- That exclusiveness could hamper free market enterprise;

● That a private company administers the project on behalf of the foundation at a remuneration of 10 percent of the proceeds," Gen Malan said.

The SA Army Foundation had the following views on these points:

- The contract entered into with the participants required that the products concerned be priced competitively at all times;
- No pressure was exerted on anyone to participate;
- No single application had been rejected on the grounds of exclusiveness;
- The Contract entered into with the administrators demanded that 75 percent of their return be spent on marketing the concept while 25 percent was to cover administration costs. Nobody could, therefore, be unduly enriched.

Gen Malan said that to date more than 100 products were endorsed under the logo and the Foundation hoped to endorse "as many as possible."

MINISTER VILJOEN FORESEES NEW DEAL IN SPORT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 Jun 82 p 4

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. — The Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday he was convinced the Human Sciences Research Council reports on sport in South Africa would usher in a vastly improved new deal for sport.

At a ceremony at which he was formally handed the main report and 15 of 19 sub-reports, Dr Viljoen said the reports would be released by the Government "in the near future".

While he could not definitely forecast when they would be released for general publication, it would be "within a month, or two or three".

He could not foresee that the Government would take very long to take note of the reports and their recommendations and then release them.

"I'm sure that since the basic policy position of the Government is to emphasise the autonomy of sports bodies and to continue with its attitude of depoliticising sport as much as possible, the reports will basically be instruments in the hands of sports administrators

and sports planners, rather than in the hands of the Government, although obviously certain measures have been recommended for consideration by the Government," he said.

The reports were officially handed to Dr Viljoen by the president of the HSRC, Dr J G Garbers, in the presence of the chairman of the main committee, professor G J L Scholtz, and representatives of the committee.

The HSRC was asked by the Government in 1979 to conduct an investigation into the physical needs of sport and administrative problems regarding its promotion, including South Africa's isolation in world sport and political problems created internally by joint participation in sport.

Both Dr Viljoen and Dr Garbers yesterday stressed the comprehensiveness and scientific nature of the investigation.

The research project included the largest opinion survey yet undertaken in South Africa, with 39 different questionnaires being compiled and a total of 83 387 being sent to 37 200 target points in all sectors.

OVER-SUPPLY OF UNSKILLED LABOR TERMED 'FRIGHTENING'

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 Jun 82 p 8

[Text]

THE most acute problem facing South Africa was the probability that millions of young people were going to be faced with years of economic frustration — because they were untrained and unfitted for any place in modern society.

This was said by the Mayor of Sandton, Mr Peter Gardiner, at the opening of the annual Institute of Town Clerk's Conference in Sandton yesterday.

The theme of the conference, which was attended by 330 delegates from 184 municipalities throughout South Africa, was in-service training within local governments.

Mr Gardiner said it was of the utmost importance that in-service training should be undertaken by all municipalities which were suffering from a general manpower shortage.

"It is imperative that in-service training schemes be extended to include people from all race groups," he said.

The South African economy would not

achieve its full potential until most people living in the country were actively engaged in either the productive or distributive functions of the society.

"This development will not be attained until the educational system is upgraded and standardised or until more bridges are thrown between the different cultural groups," he said.

At present the country was suffering from a paradoxical manpower problem — a serious shortage of skilled and semi-skilled labour and at the same time a "frightening" over-supply of unskilled labour.

Young people who were untrained and therefore unable to enjoy the benefits of a free enterprise society, would "fall easy prey to propaganda which filters across our borders. They will be beguiled by inticements which give false promises and false hopes," he said.

Turning to the recommendations of the

President's Council, Mr Gardiner said although "power-sharing at local government level means the sharing of available finance" and although the major municipalities already faced huge financial burdens, "this attempt to give other races a say in matters of communal interests must be made to work."

He stressed that new means of funding local authorities must be found.

While he was aware that the President's Council's recommendations were as yet incomplete and "raise more questions than they solve", they were undoubtedly leading South Africa towards challenging and interesting times.

"We look to the Prime Minister for strong and enlightened leadership through this crucial period. The Prime Minister must be encouraged by all of us to know that he can play a few aces while he is still in possession of a strong hand," Mr Gardiner said.

ANGLO'S CHAIRMAN-ELECT SPEAKS ON MINING, POLITICS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 3 Jun 82 p 5

[Article by Marilyn Cohen]

[Text]

WHEN newly graduated Gavin Relly joined the records department of the Anglo American Corporation in 1949, he had no idea what a mining house was.

"I joined the company because I had a youthful regard for Mr Oppenheimer and because I thought Anglo would offer an opportunity for a young man to achieve things," he said.

Achieve, he certainly has — Mr Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of the giant Anglo American Corporation announced this week that he would like Mr Relly (56) to succeed him when he retired at the end of this year.

Modest

As The Citizen interviewed him in his fairly modest office yesterday, Relly did not appear to be the kind of man who would appear on the front page of the Rand Daily Mail or in the streets on Ascot Day. He did not seem to want to come out on any public

care, leaving one no room either to misunderstand him or to twist his words.

He also revealed an engagingly dry sense of humour as the interview progressed and he began to relax.

"Young people today," he lamented, "do not seem to be interested in the hazards of opportunity any longer."

"They want to know at the age of 28 exactly where they are going to be when they're 40 and what their pension will be. I couldn't think of anything more dull."

He also regrets the fact that few young women make it to the top.

"I hope it's not because of male chauvinism but the problems of sex and colour still have a bearing on matters. There are all sorts of unseen inhibitions and prejudices at work all over the world, not only in South Africa."

"There is also a great deal of tokenism about — the token Black or female executive. I would hate to feel we have tokenism here."

Asked how he saw the future of Anglo with regard to gold mining, Mr Relly answered cautiously.

"When we began opening the Free State

Goldfields in 1949, our predictions of how long some of the mines would last were inaccurate. Some of them should have closed by now."

"I agree that in 10 to 15 years' time some of the gold mines will have been worked out, but by then the price of gold will have reached a level which will induce people to mine lower-grade ore profitably."

"If one can guarantee a gold price of \$600 Anglo's income from gold will certainly rise."

Balance

He stressed that Anglo would continue to place an emphasis on all forms of mining but "we would also like to have a balance in our investments and we would be reluctant to put all our eggs in one basket."

Turning to the political future of South Africa, Mr Relly expressed quiet optimism.

"If the Government accepts the thrust of the President's Council's recommendations and — on top of that — finds a way to give recognition to the real problems of the urban Black, they will have gone a long way to creating a foundation for society in which private enterprise can develop and flourish," he said.

"Reality"

He would like to see an era of what he called "reality" in politics with more objectivity and less emotionalism. This would include taking decisions now in the light of "the realities of the country in 20 years' time."

The President's Council's recommendations had triggered "with the Prime Minister's help" a debate about the future of South Africa which was "far more realistic than anything I've seen or heard in the past 30 years", he said.

Fishing

His new position with Anglo will leave Mr Relly little time to pursue his activities with the South Africa Foundation, an organisation of which he is currently president.

But he is adamant that he will find time to

go on the occasional trout-fishing trip with his wife, Jane.

"I hurt my eye this past weekend crawling around in the bush while trout fishing.

"I got some rough grass leaf in it — that's why I can't have a flash going off in my eyes," he apologised to The Citizen's photographer.

Doting

He also confesses to having "a certain affection — I suppose you could call that doting" for his two daughters' children. One of his daughters is expecting another child later in the year.

His son, however, is unmarried and, according to Mr Relly, "has his own ideas about things".

He lives in Natal and it is highly unlikely that he will follow in Mr Relly's footsteps as Mr Harry Oppenheimer's son, Nicholas, has.

RECOVERY IN MERCHANDISE EXPORTS NOT EXPECTED BEFORE 1983

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 3 Jun 82 p 25

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. — A marked recovery in South Africa's merchandise exports cannot be expected before 1983, according to Sanlam's latest economic survey. Sanlam said a sharp recovery in the gold price also seemed unlikely.

As against this, the growth rate in the value of merchandise imports should, however, decrease further during the following 12 to 15 months in conjunction with the increased sluggishness in the domestic economy — so much so that Sanlam expects the current account of the balance of payments to be more or less in balance again in 1983.

"It is expected that the South African economy will be characterised, inter alia, during 1982 and most probably also for the greater part of 1983 by:

- A decline in gross domestic expenditure in real terms. With due allowance for the fact that cost pressure will remain sharp, profit growth of commercial and industrial companies will be considerably weaker than in the past two years. In some cases profits may even decline.

- Scarce and dear money. The house-building sector can

therefore expect continued difficult business conditions. In the light of the serious shortage of flats, further upward pressure on rents can be expected.

Shortage

- An increase in unemployment among unskilled workers. In general the market for skilled employees will, however, remain tight since the Republic has to contend with a structural shortage of trained workers.

"The Consumer Price Index rose by 2,3 percent in March 1982, the largest monthly increase since July 1979. The increase in general sales tax (from 4 percent to 5 percent) was the main single cause for this steep rise in consumer prices," says Sanlam.

Average

"Compared with the corresponding month a year ago, the increase of 15,4 percent in the Consumer Price Index in March 1982 was also noticeably higher than the average rise of 14 percent in the preceding five months.

"We expect the annual inflation rate to accelerate further initially, but to start levelling off during the second half of this year," it says.

VISITS OF ALLEGED MOZAMBIKAN SPY REPORTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 23 May 82 p 60

[Article by Neil Hooper: "Red Spy Fernando Drops in Again"]

[Text]

A MOZAMBIQUE spy and expert safe-cracker — code-named Fernando — has been visiting South Africa regularly since his country became an independent Marxist state in 1975.

The SNASP agent, Emilio Rodrigues Fernandes, last visited South Africa six months ago, when he stayed at a Johannesburg hotel for 10 days from December 6 to 16.

SNASP, Servico Nacional de Seguranca Popular (National Service of Public Security), is a surrogate of the Soviet KGB intelligence service, and is controlled through the Cuban DGI intelligence network.

The true occupation of Mr Fernandes, who described himself as a "locksmith" on his visa application, was disclosed to the Sunday Times by a leading member of the Mozambique Resistance Movement in Lisbon and confirmed by an intelligence source in Mozambique.

This was also confirmed this week by a senior Security Branch officer, who said that the police had only become aware of the Mozambique agent's visit last year after he had left the country.

The agent travelled to South Africa on a passport issued in his own name and a valid visa issued by the South African Department of Inter-

nal Affairs.

Mr Andries Engelbrecht, a chief director of the department in charge of visa applications, said this week that the department's files showed that Mr Fernandes had been visiting South Africa regularly since 1975, when he had applied for a work permit in the Republic. This had been refused.

He said that visas had been granted to Mr Fernandes after his applications had been vetted by the National Intelligence Service (NIS) and "other sources".

Asked what steps were normally taken to prevent communist agents from entering South Africa, Mr Engelbrecht said: "Every visa application, from Mozambique and elsewhere, is treated the same way.

"We don't make any exceptions and all decisions are taken on merit."

The Sunday Times investigations show that during his last visit to South Africa the Mozambique agent was accompanied by Maria Helena Cordeira and Jose Emilio Fernandes.

They booked into the Victoria Hotel in Johannesburg as Mr and Mrs Fernandes and child.

The booking was made telephonically by a Mr Bosch in Maputo, and according to the card the agent completed he was travelling on a Portuguese passport No 2148/81.

He gave his address as PO Box 2990, Maputo.

It is known that he spent most of his time in Johannesburg and Pretoria.

It is also known that the SNASP and Cuban DGI role in South Africa is one of active involvement in the activities of the banned African National Congress (ANC) and South African Communist Party.

The ANC in particular has claimed responsibility for most of the terrorist attacks and acts of sabotage in South Africa in recent years.

Mozambique intelligence has also been operating in Zimbabwe since Mr Robert Mugabe became Prime Minister two years ago.

Innocuous

The Zimbabwe SNASP operation in Harare is headed by Antonio da Rocha, and apart from its intelligence operations in that country also spies on South Africa.

I understand that in its effort to infiltrate agents into South Africa on valid passports, SNASP has been applying for visas through apparently innocuous organisations in Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

One of these "innocuous" organisations is the Swedish International Development Agency (Sida) in Maputo.

Sida, which is subsidised by the Swedish Government, is one of the many bodies funding the pro-ANC International University Exchange Fund, which was infiltrated and exposed by South African agent Major Craig Williamson.

CSO: 4700/1357

LIVES OF LIMPOPO FRONTIER FARMERS DESCRIBED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 24 May 82 p 16

[Article by Jaap Boekooi: "The Farmers Who Are SA's Last Frontier"]

[Text]

... And quiet flows the Limpopo, unseen and underground at this time of year. Over short stretches it hides water reserves twice those of Hartbeespoort Dam, which is why this river is South Africa's powerful last frontier.

The Limpopo line is now what the Zambezi was to Ian Smith's Rhodesian rule, the last human barrier to the uncertainties of the north, the solid black line on the map of Africa.

Just off the southern banks of this dry-bed river the bulldozers roar during the day, the lights sweeping the primeval riverline forest at night where elephants splash their droppings on the military patrol path, impalas jump at the slightest sound and hippos grunt their way to the few surviving waterholes.

What is happening along the southern Limpopo right now is 1820 all over again. A human defence line is being formed, and to the authorities, as it

was to the Cape colonial administration when the British Settlers arrived, this bulwark is priority number one.

New farmers arrive and the bush is cleared at a thousand rands or so a hectare. Where the big wild figs, the vaalblaar, the marula and the fever trees stood, there are now irrigation furrows and giant irrigators, resembling bombers on an American air base at dusk, amid the corn and cotton fields.

The men who settle here are no bumbling Jeremiah Goldswains of "A Settler's Tale".

They are farmers who have considered the risks of being first in a potential firing line, (there is an ANC camp 17 km north), balanced by the secure life of irrigation farmers and a flourish of encouragement from Pretoria.

In clearing the bush here they are not much different from South Africa's first white settlers, the free burghers who cleared the

Cape's Liesbeeck River of its thickets in 1657, starting a process which now comes to a final stop in the mopane belt far north.

The difference here is that the first burghers had opposition and indifference from their authorities. The new Limpopo burghers are backed by millions and all the backpats Union Buildings can give them.

George Hodgson, wife Anne and their three children left Zimbabwe penniless. They are typical of the new breed of farmer bush-clearers of this area.

To clear the 1800 ha forest bank on the Limpopo, get the electric pumps to suck the life-giving water 20 m deep out of the dry river bed and lead it across his cotton and winter mealie lands, George must have incurred debts of at least R300 000, which even in these days of big farming debts, feels some-

what like sitting on a gurgling volcano.

Men volunteering to man the country's human barrier to the north may become the cannon-fodder of the future (as the settlers became Hintsa's asagai fodder) but they have had many hints that they are Pretoria's favourites.

One whispered word from the corridors of power, and Escom rushed in to build a power line 150 km long along the river west of Messina towards All-days, completed in the record time of nine months at a cost of R3.4 million, which enabled the new frontiersman to swap both his expensive diesel engines and oil accounts for cheap electric power which could pump water on to the lands at as little as 35 percent of rising diesel costs.

The frontiersmen

were really grateful: they not only thanked Escom through their Bridgewater Farmers' Association (chairman, Hennie Ahlers), but held a "power festival" last week during which the light was symbolically switched on and irrigation booms watered the tropical land.

They were there in their hundreds, celebrating the lighting-up of the river banks, gorging themselves on such rarities as impala boerewors, blue wildebees steaks and warthog polony with marula jelly. This was after listening to the local dominee's scripture reading and promises from Mr Fanie Botha, Minister of Manpower and their local MP, that the Government was ready to give them more pats on the back in the form of automatic telephone exchanges by 1984 and the raising of

Messina's status as South Africa's 48th official growth point.

They know what it all means. Pretoria is saying to them, in effect: "You may face terrorists, AK47s, rockets and landmines in future, but we will look after you."

Mr Fanie Botha managed to suggest that if South Africa could again go outwards, these Limpopo farmers would no longer be far from markets, but near to their true hinterland, black Africa, with Messina as the "port to Africa."

Some will regret the destruction of the Limpopo wilderness for the purpose of taming the last frontier.

And whether the Limpopo Line, now feverishly in the building, like France's Maginot in the 30s, is a line of hope — or desperation — lies in the still-flowing waters of the river that runs so deep.

SOUTH AFRICA

SALE OF RAW SUGAR TO JAPAN REPORTED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Jun 82 p 23

[Text] South Africa has sold 75,000 tons of raw sugar to Japan in the last week or so, Sugar Association general manager, Peter Sale, said yesterday.

He was commenting by telephone from Durban on a New York report that South Africa have sold about 100,000 tons of raw sugar to four Japanese trade houses on June 7.

Japanese traders were unable to confirm the report and put recent purchases from South Africa at between 30,000 and 90,000 tons.

The 75,000 tons of sugar is for July/September delivery and is part of a longterm agreement between South Africa and Japan whereby Japan buys a minimum 350,000 tons of South African sugar a year.

The Sugar Association does not release pricing details of sales.

Sale confirmed that a South African sugar team was currently in the Far East on a routine visit to established export markets in South Korea and Japan.

Japanese traders in Tokyo have confirmed that a South African sugar team, currently in South Korea, will arrive in Tokyo on June 12 with members of the London sugar house, E. D. and F. Man, which acts on behalf of South Africa for all sugar sales to Japan.

The talks are expected to centre on further purchases of sugar, as well as possible changes in the current system of buying from South Africa, they say.

At present, five Japanese houses buy from South Africa under a long-term contract, although actual purchases have recently been negotiated individually.

CSO: 4700/1391

BRIEFS

NEW CP PAPER--PRETORIA--The director of the South African Bureau for Racial Affairs for the past 15 years, Dr Chris Jooste, has resigned to take up editorship of Die Patriot, the new newspaper being launched by the Conservative Party. Until June 18 the assistant director, Mr P J Joubert, will take over the organisation. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 20 May 82 p 2]

TWO DETAINED BY CISKEI--ZWELITSHA--Two officials of the Border Council of Churches have been detained by Ciskei Security Police, an official of the council said yesterday. Mr Mzwandile Msoki was arrested last Sunday at Mdantsane near East London while attending a funeral, the official said. Mr Alfred Metele was detained on Wednesday at Zwelitsha. The official added that Mr Metele was due to appear at the Alice Magistrate's Court on June 9 with 19 others, including University of Fort Hare students, on a charge of public violence. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 Jun 82 p 2]

CISKEI LINKS ABROAD--ZWELITSHA--Although Ciskei had official diplomatic relations only with South Africa, this did not mean it was cut off from the rest of the world, Mr R R Mali, Ciskei Minister of Foreign Affairs said in Zwelitsha yesterday. He said the Ciskei already had unofficial agents abroad and was in contact with many other influential persons in pursuit of Ciskeian interests. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 Jun 82 p 11]

SECRET ORGANIZATIONS--CAPE TOWN--The editor of the Stellenbosch University newspaper, the Matie, has sparked off a row on campus by alleging that students are being manipulated by secret organisations. The editor, Mr Ian Theron, claimed in an editorial this week that the university was apparently being controlled by the unknown, dark forces of the underworld. He said that the Broederbond, the Ruiterwag, an obscure organisation called "Z" and other "shady organisations" were turning the university into a "jellyfish in a turbulent ocean". The article claims that these organisations were exploiting the people of Stellenbosch for "their own mysterious purposes". The editorial questioned why it was necessary that the Afrikaaner had to be protected. Mr Theron's term of editorship of the Matie expired this week. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 Jun 82 p 8]

PILOT PRESUMED KILLED--One of the South African Air Force's most capable fighter pilots, Major Eugene Kotze, (35) is missing presumed dead. He was engaged in follow-up operations in the south of Angola. Maj. Kotze was the

Staff Officer (operations) of the Ondangowa Air Force base. He was married and lived with his wife and their two children at the base. Everybody who knew him, spoke with great admiration of Maj Kotze's abilities as fighter pilot in the operational situation. The Major, with his sandy-coloured hair, will be remembered by friends for his leadership capabilities and his friendly disposition. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 3 Jun 82 p 3]

SWAZILAND BORDER AGREEMENT--Swaziland's borders are to be extended. A written agreement is to be entered into between South Africa and Swaziland to legalize the cession to Swaziland of certain South African territory bordering on Swaziland. The land concerned is (Kangwane) on the Transvaal side of Swaziland, and Ingwavuma on the Natal side which stretches to Kosi Bay on the Indian Ocean. Through this cession of territory mistakes made during the colonial era can be put right. In the case of Swaziland the aim is to accept the realities of the ethnic composition of the Swazi people. In several other African states the reality of ethnic composition is not accepted, in fact efforts are being made to wipe out the distinctions between groups because of boundaries drawn up in the previous century. The extension of Swaziland's borders should benefit Swaziland and help eliminate frictions because of border disputes. [Excerpts] [LD161244 Johannesburg International Service in English 1100 GMT 16 Jun 82]

DISTRICTS TO SWAZILAND--The South African cabinet has decided that the (Ingwavuma) District in the north of Kwazulu as well as the areas known as (Inchakazi), (Inkumasi) and (Umswazi) be included in Swaziland. The announcement was made by the Minister of Cooperation and Development Dr Koornhof at Ulundi today. Addressing the (Kwazulu) Legislative Assembly Dr Koornhof said the final written agreement would be entered into between the government and the Republic of Swaziland as soon as possible. He said (Ingwavuma) would be excised from (Kwazulu) and that the administration of the district could be taken over by his department. Reacting to the minister's announcement the chief minister of (Kwazulu) Chief Buthelezi predicted a permanent rift between Afrikaaners and the Zulus as well as the establishment of a rift between the Zulus and the Swazis and the radicalization of black-white politics in South Africa. Dr Koornhof gave the assurance that the border adjustment would not result in any resettlement of (Ingwavuma) people. He said the Kingdom of Swaziland had undertaken to respect all existing property rights and investments in the affected areas. All people residing in the areas as well as the Swazis living in the republic would become citizens of the Kingdom of Swaziland but they did not have to fear any economic disruption or consequence hardship. In this announcement Dr Koornhof said the (Masatini) flats, a large part of the Ubombo District and possibly the Umfolozi, [name indistinct] and (Umkuzi) game reserves would be handed to (Kwazulu) in exchange for (Ingwavuma). Regarding the three game reserves he said they might have to be held in trust with the Natal Executive Council and the Natal Pass Board and that they would be maintained to the satisfaction of the Natal Provincial Administration. [Excerpt] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 14 Jun 82 CA]

WALVIS BAY POLLS--Windhoek--If legislation were approved by the House of Assembly, Walvis Bay would go to the polls by September to elect a member of parliament, the Director of Walvis Bay, Mr Dormehl Vosloo, said yesterday. A Bill to proclaim this South African coastal enclave a separate voting constituency is currently before Parliament in Cape Town. At present Walvis Bay forms part of the Green Point constituency held by the Progressive Federal Party. Mr Vosloo told Sapa yesterday if the legislation were passed and promulgated shortly after the end of this parliamentary session tomorrow a by-election could be expected to be gazetted for about September. Political observers in Walvis Bay expect the by-election to produce a three-cornered contest among the PFP, the National Party and the Conservative Party. It was not known at this stage whether the Herstigte Nasionale Party would nominate a candidate in Walvis Bay. Much depended on whether the CP and the HNP could reach accord on co-operation in elections before that time, observers said.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Jun 82 p 15]

GERMISTON BY-ELECTION--The Herstigte Nasionale Party yesterday nominated Mr Jack Myburgh for the forthcoming Provincial Council by-election in the Germiston district. Mr Myburgh lost marginally against Mr Carel Venter of the National Party in the constituency of Westdene at the time of the Johannesburg municipal elections held in March. The HNP will spearhead its campaign with the recommendations of the President's Council sharing of power, and the assistance given by the Government to neighbouring states that harbour terrorists. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Jun 82 p 15]

SAIC MEETING--Durban--The full South African Indian Council will meet in Durban today to discuss the proposals of the President's Council. The chairman of the executive of the SAIC, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said the 43 members of the council had arrived in Durban for a series of special sub-committee meetings during the next few days. The internal and constitutional sub-committee will meet today to discuss resolutions passed during the last council session. It is the first meeting of the SAIC since the release of the proposals.--Sapa [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Jun 82 p 12]

WORKERS RETRENCHED--Cape Town--Reckitt and Colman, a British company, is retrenching about 200 workers because of a "redirection of the business" in South Africa, according to a spokesman for the firm in London, Mr David Clifford. "The South African economy is not quite as buoyant today as it was a year ago. Businesses have to respond to economic changes. This is something we and other businesses like ours are doing across the world," he said. Mr Owen Parmenter, chief executive of the company's South African operation, said peripheral areas were being evaluated. "Where more efficient and economic areas of the business method can be identified, non-essential activities will be discontinued. Unfortunately, there will be some loss of jobs when specific activities are discontinued," he said.--Sapa [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Jun 82 p 3]

JOURNALISTS UNDER GUARD--Soweto, South Africa, 16 Jun (AFP)--Nearly 50 journalists were held under armed guard by authorities here today as police charged a crowd and buses were stoned on the sixth anniversary of the bloody Soweto riots. Some injuries were reported but the incidents were minor, certainly compared with the 1976 events in which up to 600 of this black dormitory town's 1.5 million inhabitants were reported killed. Police charged with batons outside the Catholic Regina Mundi Cathedral shortly after a service of commemoration had ended. Among those injured were the daughter of Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu, whose father is a severe critic of the Pretoria regime, and the parish priest Father B. Tlakhagane, according to witnesses. The buses were stoned by groups of young people near the Baragwanath Hospital, and a number of people injured. The journalists--reporters, photographers and television cameramen--were picked up all over the town by police flying squads and taken to the main (?Pretoria) police station, where they were held for some four hours. No official reason was given but one policeman said it was a preventive measure. He blamed incidents a year ago on the presence of television teams and photographers. [Text] [NC162041 Paris AFP in English 1956 GMT 16 Jun 82]

CSO: 4700/1408

BRIEFS

CCM DELEGATION'S RETURN FROM PRC--Athumani Makalo, leader of a five member Revolutionary Party [CCM] delegation which returned the day before yesterday from China and member of the National Executive Committee, said in the city of Dar es Salaam yesterday that the Chinese Communist Party is prepared to provide aid including advice whenever it is required. Makalo said the delegation held talks with various Chinese Communist Party leaders and that the two sides agreed to strengthen relations between their parties by exchanging thoughts, advice and training among other matters. Others in the delegation who made the 3 week trip to China were party secretary for Southern Zanzibar Region, Mohammed Mahmoud; the CCM chairman for Lindi Region, N. Nandonde; member of the National Executive Committee, Rajabu Ali Makame; and the assistant secretary at party headquarters in Dodoma, A. Mwanri. [Dar es Salaam UHURU in Swahili 10 Jun 82 p 1]

WESTERN CONTACT GROUP BRIEFED--President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania today briefed envoys of the five Western contact group working out a plan for Namibia's independence. President Nyerere briefed the envoys on the decisions reached by the African frontline states leaders who met in Dar es Salaam yesterday together with SWAPO leader, Sam Nujoma. SWAPO endorsed the stand taken by the frontline states in regard to the new Western proposals on the Namibian independence settlement. A key Western proposal reportedly called on the African states and SWAPO to sidestep disagreements over procedures for electing delegates to the proposed Namibian parliament. The proposal suggests that discussions should move on the creation of the UN peace-keeping force to enforce a ceasefire. [Text] [EA152050 Nairobi Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 15 Jun 82]

PROGRAM TO REHABILITATE ECONOMY--The government has adopted a structural [word indistinct] program which was prepared in consultation with a special team of international experts. The 3-year program is aimed at rehabilitating the country's economy, which for the last 3 years has been in a poor state. The minister for economic affairs and development planning, Ndugu Kighoma Malima, said today that under the program several ongoing and new projects have been shelved to decrease the government's expenditure. However, the minister said the low-income groups and the essential services will continue to get priority in the government expenditure. In the 1982-1983 development plan, the government is scheduled to spend 7,317,000 shillings, a decrease of 42.3 percent of the current development budget. [Text] [EA180038 Dar Es Salaam in English to East Africa 1000 GMT 17 Jun 82]

ETHNIC ASPECTS IN INCREASINGLY VIOLENT REPRESSION SEEN

Paris LE MONDE in French 10 Apr 82 pp 1, 15

[Article] by special reporter Jean-Pierre Langellier: "Horror on a Daily Basis"]

[Text] Overthrown 3 years ago by 11 April 1982, by a coalition of Ugandan and Tanzanian forces, Marshal Idi Amin Dada, who is living in exile in Saudi Arabia, has launched an appeal for solidarity among Moslem countries to "buy arms for the liberation of my country...and to pay my children's education expenses." "It will take 3 years to liberate Uganda from Obote, and I will return home shortly to direct the final phase of the war," the former Ugandan dictator also told ASSOCIATED PRESS, who also asserts that 24,000 men are fighting for him in his own country.

Repression is growing sharper in that country. In Kampala, the police and the army again on Wednesday, 7 April, conducted a huge raid. Several hundred civilians were arrested, and thousands of persons were challenged.

This latest police operation is connected with the particularly blind antiguerrilla fight started by President Obote's government, and has produced many victims.

Kampala--For several hours, John Onyango Odango has been a free man again. He still holds in his hand the exit permit from Luzira prison, where he has just spent 11 months.

John is the Democratic Party (DP) -- the main organization in the legal opposition -- official for the district of Gulu, a northern Ugandan town. The police, searching for an arms cache, arrested him without a warrant on 3 May 1981, after searching his home in vain. Six weeks later he was transferred to Luzira, the largest civilian prison in Kampala.

John calmly tells about the vicissitudes of his detention without conviction indictment; days without food, cold nights, misappropriation by guards of Red Cross blankets intended for prisoners, overcrowding -- Luzira is holding, using even its corridors, over 2,000 prisoners, though its capacity is for five times less -- illness, anxiety over the authorities' silence, surprise and joy upon learning, the day before, of his immediate liberation.

It was -- rules must be obeyed -- too late to get out. So John had to spend one last night in his cell, nicknamed "Nile Mansion," in derisive reference to the city's best hotel, reserved for dignitaries of the Ugandan government.

All in all, John came through the trial rather well. He was not ill-treated like his friend, the DP secretary general, Tony Ocaya, who was imprisoned in January for a week, beaten, while naked, with iron bars, and whose arms are covered in wounds that are slow to heal. He was even given permission to spend some time in Mulago hospital. He kept hoping, above all, that his regional responsibilities would save him from a more tragic fate.

In Uganda today, 3 years after the country's "liberation," many anonymous victims did not have his luck. In Kampala, all independent observers agree about one point: since the fall of the dictator Idi Amin, the repression inflicted on the civilian population by the government army has never been so fierce as during the last few weeks.

Yet the year had started with indications of pacification. The army had all more or less returned to barracks. The police, better disciplined, had regained control of the roadblocks, which the soldiers had turned into toll-collection points. President Milton Obote had freed four DP deputies.

By attacking the Lubiri barracks in Kampala on 23 February (LE MONDE, issue of 25 February), anti-government guerilla forces started the opposition-violence-repression cycle again. The very next day -- it was Ash Wednesday -- the army gave free rein to its brutality. A group of soldiers armed with machine-guns entered the Rubaga cathedral, near the barracks that had been attacked, during mass, which about 100 adults and nearly 2,000 children were attending, interrupted the service, drove the three priests away from the altar, while the terrified congregation fled in utter disorder. Having searched, without a warrant, the private residence of Cardinal Emmanuel Nsubuga, archbishop of Kampala, the soldiers took away with them about 60 persons, including several student choristers. The representations undertaken concerning them, in particular by Paul Seemogerere, DP president, have received no response.

Several of the persons who disappeared on Ash Wednesday have been found dead, and their bodies identified by their families, reliable sources affirm, on the Jinja road, between Kireka and the infamous forest of Kamanwe, where Amin's killers were formerly in the habit of dumping corpses. The Ugandan army has carried some macabre traditions over from one regime to the next..

Repression is affecting Kampala and its environs in particular, in the heart of Uganda. Every guerilla strike inevitably brings in its wake massive

reprisals in nearby villages: murder, pillage, destroyed harvests, slaughtered animals. According to Mr Ssemogerere's estimates, with which diplomats broadly agree, the army is believed to have killed some 1,200 persons since 23 February. The most murderous raids have taken place near Mityana, in the district of Mpigi, and at Katwe, Luwero, and Ssemuto. The leader of the legal opposition cites, with supporting names and dates, specific cases of civilians being coldbloodedly assassinated in their homes. According to eye-witnesses, the population has completely deserted several villages west of Kampala.

Ethnic Character of Repression

Adolescents, potential guerilla recruits, are particularly sought out by the army. Extremely depressing photographs are being passed around in the diplomatic circle in Kampala. They show the lifeless bodies of four men, with drains and bandages. These wounded men were forcibly removed, with a few others, by the soldiers, from the Rubaga and Nsambya hospitals, before being bayoneted to death. The cardinal officially protested against this kidnaping. For several days, military trucks unloaded their cargo of corpses at the Mulago hospital.

The army also practises liberation for ransom. To obtain the release of a prisoner taken during a raid, his parents or his employer have to pay the jailers up to 100,000 shillings. Of this, too, there are plenty of specific, proven examples. According to Mr Ssemogerere, one family had to pay 40,000 additional shillings -- and get the neighbors to contribute -- to have returned to it...a corpse.

There is no doubt of the ethnic character of the repression. The soldiers, almost exclusively natives of the North -- Acholi and Langu -- accompany their acts of violence with warnings such as: "We shall kill all the Bagandans. Because of you, we spend every night outdoors."

The 4 million Bagandans being in the majority Catholics, relations between the diocese and the regime are at the lowest point. The vice president, Paulo Muwanga, has accused the church of supporting the guerillas. A televised "round table" at the beginning of March, in which several ministers took part, took a clearly anti-Catholic turn. On his side, the cardinal energetically criticized the "sacriligious act" committed by the army in the cathedral at Rubaga, insisted on official apologies, and threatened to boycott all public demonstrations. In a personal meeting with President Obote, the latter expressed his "regrets." In actual fact, the repression does not spare Protestants, particularly in the Lowero and Ssemuto areas, where religious affiliations are mixed.

*One Ugandan shilling is equal to 8 [French] centimes.

The opposition asked for a "security board" to be set up, with representatives of the government, the DP, and the four religious hierarchies. Negotiations took place last September and November. They came to nothing, because the authorities refused to give the board the legal powers that would have enabled it to conduct, speedily and with complete independence, a real on-site investigation after each incident.

The army enjoys, in practice, complete impunity. Not a single soldier has been penalized for extortion or crimes against civilians. In this respect, the commitments made by Mr Obote, particularly in January, in the presence of two Amnesty International emissaries, have not been acted upon at all. Indiscipline remains the rule, as is demonstrated by the violent events that befell a resident of Kampala a few months ago.

His wife and his two young children were massacred by soldiers. He recovered the three bodies from the morgue, then lodged a complaint. The police arrested the murderers, who were freed under the presidential amnesty of 1 January. The widower found out that as soon as the soldiers were released, they had gone back to his house -- in his absence -- to kill him. He courageously called for justice from the captain commanding the unit in which the guilty men were serving. The latter admitted that he could do nothing and advised him to leave Kampala. After telling his tragic story to some European friends, the man fled to his village, with rage in his heart.

During a press conference in New Delhi, last November, Mr Obote categorically denied that his regime has resorted to violence. One could, with the humanitarian organizations, confront him with the range of tortures practised in Ugandan jails: clubbings, flogging with barbed wire, scalding with boiling oil, slashing with machetes, electroshock, sexual mutilation, and -- the torturers' latest find -- machine-gunning the feet.

These sufferings are inflicted by the army in interrogation centers located, for the most part, inside barracks of which the list is known in Kampala: the premises of the Milton Obote Foundation in the industrial zone; Makindye, Mbuya, Katabi near Entebbe, Bombo, Kireka, Maya-Maya, and "Qadhdhafi Barracks" near Jinja, etcetera. Need special mention be made of room 211 of the Nile Mansion Hotel, where military security operates?

The prisons hold two categories of political detainees. The smaller number -- some 800 -- are essentially celebrities and soldiers compromised under Amin's dictatorship, including his former advisor, the celebrated Bol Ariles. Since January 1981, the government has freed over 3,300 prisoners belonging to this category. The others, described as "security prisoners," -- about 3,000, according to a reasonable estimate -- have been imprisoned for a year. The order (Detention Act) issued by Mr Obote in 1967 makes it unnecessary for them to be formally indicted.

Expulsion of IRCC

For nearly 3 years, representatives of the International Red Cross Committee [IRCC] were able to visit the first-category prisoners. The government

took away that right in mid-December. The IRCC, which had never had access to the military prisons, had unwillingly to leave the country on 31 March (LE MONDE, 27 March), without having been able to complete the mission of aid to prisoners entrusted to it in 1979. Mr Obote felt that the presence of the IRCC ran counter to his wish to have Uganda appear abroad as a "normal" country.

This expulsion is on a par with a reduction of the freedom of movement of other international organizations. As for the opposition press, what is left of it, at least, it is under strict surveillance. Four employees of the MUNNANSI NEWS BULLETIN, the DP's weekly newspaper, were arrested at the end of March for publishing a report on the status of the repression.

In striking out blindly, Mr Obote is reacting disproportionately to the guerilla actions. The guerilla force is still not well known. It is credited with having 500 to 2,000 men. Against the government troops -- 15,000 soldiers, 8,000 police officers, 5,000 "special forces," and 5,000 territorial police -- it has no chance, in the near future, of overthrowing the regime. It has other aims: foster insecurity, deepen the government's isolation, hold up economic recovery.

The rebellion is fighting on three fronts. The Uganda Freedom Movement (UFM) operates in the Kampala area. Yoweri Museweni's People's Resistance Army (ARP) is implanted in the West. Moses Ali's Ugandan National Protection Front (UNPF) is active on the border fringes of western Nile province. The three movements constituted, in December the Ugandan People's Front.

Temporarily setting aside their ethnic disputes and their personal rivalries, its leaders are motivated above all by their common hatred of Mr Obote. Under the terms of a agreement concluded in September in Tripoli, Libya is believed to have supplied the rebels with light arms that are supposed to have come through Rwanda and Burundi. The government asserts that it found arms with inscriptions in Arabic, but Bujumbura denied the existence of a Burundian connection. Kampala is believed to secured the cooperation of Sudan and Zaire against certain rebels at the end of March, in addition.

The opponents' news bulletin, distributed in Nairobi, carefully details the slightest incident. But their real power is all the harder to find out since the government maintains a black-out on the subject. It has never shown any arms nor prisoners. Officially, 67 guerilla fighters died on 23 February, but nobody has seen the slightest sign of any corpses.

The authorities cling to their official thesis: no guerilla forces, no rebellion, just "bandits." The strategy of silence has the major disadvantage of mythicizing the enemy and attributing to them more means than they probably have in the field.

Mr Museweni allied himself in June 1981 with former President Yusuf Lule, within the National Resistance Movement (MNR)

It will take a long time to build up the Ugandan army again. Its material condition has noticeably improved, but there are only a few dozen career soldiers in it. It is receiving assistance from about 40 North Korean advisors. In addition, 800 Tanzanian police officers are serving in Uganda still. The basic task devolves upon a team of 36 Commonwealth instructors, representing seven countries, who, starting at the end of April, will be training 1,000 Ugandan soldiers. More than one observer shows scepticism about their chances of success.

Every afternoon, the Kampala parliament building gets busy. With its leather seats and its black-robed speaker, the prayers opening each session, and the debates punctuated with points of order, it faithfully reproduces the ritual of Westminster. There is a cross-fire of jokes from the benches, and the verbal jousting seem somewhat silly to a passing stranger, surprised to find himself in such jovial company. But at 1730 hours, the speaker, right on time, adjourns the session, so that the deputies can get home before dusk. The streets are almost empty already. For nights in Kampala belong to the army, and to the army alone.

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CSO: 4719/836

ORDINANCES, DECREE, ON NEW MILITARY STAFF PUBLISHED

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 1 Apr 82 pp 1, 8

[Orders appointing assistant chief of staff to the National Gendarmerie and new military attaches to embassies abroad, decree appointing local military commanders, issued 29 March 1982 in Kinshasa]

[Excerpts] Citizen Sese Seko Mobuto, president-founder of the MPR, president of the republic, signed on 29 March orders 82-037 and 82-038, under which he appoints an assistant chief of staff to the National Gendarmerie and seven military attaches.

In addition, as state commissioner for defense and veterans, General Mobuto signed, the same day, a departmental decree appointing military area commanders.

The full text of the orders and the decree are given below.

Ordinance 82-037 of 29 March 1982 declaring the appointment of an assistant chief of staff of the National Gendarmerie

Article 1

Lieutenant Colonel Babua Bangboe, serial number 003134X is appointed assistant chief of staff of the National Gendarmerie

Order 82-038 of 29 March 1982 declaring the appointment of army, naval, and air military attaches

Article 1

The following superior officers of the Zairian Armed Forces are designated ground, naval, and air military attaches:

Military administrator Col Longelo Mbule wa Monzombo, serial number 640692T, military attache at the Zairian embassy to the Kingdom of Belgium

Air Force Col Bakatamba Bena Malu, serial number 002067S, military attache at the Zairian embassy to the French Republic

Col Konziase Neto, serial number 002057Z, military attache at the Zairian embassy to the United States of America

Col Ipoma Banseli, serial number 002459S, military attache at the Zairian embassy to the Arab Republic of Egypt

Capt (naval) Mondonga Minsiamina, serial number 105389V, military attache at the Zairian embassy to the People's Republic of China

Lt Col Unyon Pewu, serial number 035055, military attache at the Zairian embassy to the Federal Republic of Germany

Lt Col Binene Mwema, serial number 002089H, military attache at the Zairian embassy to Greece.

Departmental Decree No 82-009 of 29 March 1982 declaring the appointment of military area commanders

Article 1

Lt Col Kabangu Kankolongo, serial number 002484N, is designated commander of the 1st military area

Article 2

Lt Col Mukuta Sandjamba, serial number 002414N, is designated commander of the 2d military area

Article 3

Lt Col Makuta Esampwa, serial number 155009C, is designated commander of the 5th military area

Article 4

Lt Col Lokyo Leanza, serial number 00244R, is designated commander of the 6th military area

Article 5

Col Engwango Moze Moi Boloki, serial number 034657P, is designated commander of the 7th military area

Article 6

Col Bazenge Nzando, serial number 105368K, is designated commander of the military area of the city of Kinshasa.

Done at Kinshasa 29 March 1982

Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu Wa Za Banga, general of the army

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CSO: 4719/836

BRIEFS

TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION EXPLANATION POSTPONED--The opening of the week of explanation of the new territorial, political, and administrative organization of the republic and of the 1982 elections, originally planned for yesterday, Wednesday, has been postponed until next 7 April at 1630 hours at the People's Hall, it is announced in a communique from the Department of Territorial Administration, which was given to AZAP on Tuesday. The communique, which does not specify the reasons for the postponement, did, however, stress that the originally issued invitations remain valid. This week, the same source recalls, will be organized by the office of the secretary general of MOPAP [expansion unknown], the Department of Territorial Administration, and the Zairian Press Union for the benefit of national personalities and members of the diplomatic corps accredited in Zaire. It is under the exalted patronage of the president-founder of the MPR, president of the republic. On this occasion citizen Vunduawe Te Pemako, vice premier, commissioner of state, and commissioner of state for territorial administration, will speak on two topics, while Maitre Tschilouabua Ashila Pashi, assistant executive secretary of the MPR and secretary general for MOPAP will direct the deliberations of the meeting. [Text]/[Kinshasa ELIMA in French 1 Apr 82 p 1] 12149

MOZAMBICAN REFUGEES FLEE TO ZIMBABWE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Jun 82 p 11

[Text]

BULAWAYO. — About 400 Mozambican refugees with nearly 2 000 head of cattle are camped at Chibgwedziwa, 50 km south of Chiredzi in Zimbabwe.

The refugees, mostly from the Gaza province, said they were fleeing from fighting between Frelimo soldiers and Mozambican National Resistance (MNR) guerrillas.

They arrived with their scanty belongings on wooden sledges drawn by cattle and are camped beneath trees near the cattle pens at the Chibgwedziwa business centre.

Mostly women and children, the refugees live in dusty and insanitary conditions. Their menfolk slaughter the cattle and sell meat to local people to raise money for mealie meal and other food.

The refugees told stories of torture and harsh treatment by the MNR

rebels.

One man, Chitanga Kasawane, showed bullet scars on his arms and said he had been shot by the guerillas after they had accused him of lying about whether his son was in the People's Militia. Then they abducted his son.

Phineas Chirilele said he had brought his family of eight and several head of cattle after reports that the MNR were coming to "get him".

Blankets and food have been given to the refugees by the Department of Social Services. The refugees come from the Shangaan-speaking Chitanga area in Mozambique, and are related to the Shangaan people in the Chibgwedziwa area.

Officials said a decision was being awaited from the Prime Minister's Office on the status of the fleeing Mozambicans. — Sapa.

CSO: 4700/1391

BRIEFS

ARMS CACHE SENTENCE REDUCED--HARARE--The seven-year prison sentence imposed on a former Rhodesian soldier, Christian van der Walt, for caching arms of war at his Harare home has been set aside by the Harare High Court. He will instead serve an effective 20 months' imprisonment. In a judgment handed down yesterday, Mr Justice Waddington and Mr Justice McNally set aside the original sentence, imposed by a city Regional Court magistrate, Mr Tom Smith. They substituted a sentence of five years' imprisonment with hard labour. They suspended 40 months of the sentence for three years. Mr Smith had accepted Van der Walt had not planned any subversive activity. Police unearthed what was described as an "arsenal" at his home, including nearly 16 500 rounds of 7,62 mm ammunition, 25 grenades, AK and FN rifles and an RPD machinegun. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 3 Jun 82 p 12]

COL RISE--The cost of living for lower income urban families in Zimbabwe rose 5,1 percent in the first quarter of this year, compared to 6,2 percent for the better-off families in the same period. Figures issued by the Central Statistical Office in Harare give the main causes of the 5 percent rise as higher prices of green vegetables and fresh fruit, higher rents in Bulawayo and smaller increases in the prices of clothing, footwear and household goods. Transport costs rose marginally. In the same quarter the better-off faced substantial rises in the wages of domestic workers and rents and smaller increases in the prices of food, clothing and household goods. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 Jun 82 p 5]

CSO: 4700/1356

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